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# THE INFLUENCE OF WACE ON THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES OF CRESTIEN DE TROIES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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BY
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TO

LILIAN WELSH

WHOSE INTEREST HAS CONTRIBUTED ESSENTIALLY TO THE COMPLETION OF THIS WORK

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## PREFATORY NOTE

The following study grew out of a seminary paper on the relation of Wace's *Brut* to the *Cligès* of Crestien de Troies which I prepared for, and at the suggestion of, Professor William A. Nitze. My aim in the study has been to show that among the many and diverse influences open to Crestien in the composition of his Arthurian romances, the Norman chronicler, Wace, may hold a more important place than criticism has heretofore assigned him; and indirectly to point out, therefore, that Wace is perhaps more significant than Geoffrey of Monmouth in the transmission of chronicle Arthurian material to the French poets.

In my preparation of the work I have received assistance for which I feel greatly indebted. To Professor Nitze I wish to express my appreciation, not only for the suggestion of the subject, but also for his stimulating criticism and for his constant interest in the progress of the work. To Professor Thomas A. Jenkins I am indebted also for unfailing interest, for much of the proof reading, and for discriminating suggestion, especially concerning the linguistic problems involved. I am also under obligation to Professor John M. Manly who, together with Professors Nitze and Jenkins, both by precept and by example, has led me to some appreciation of literary values and scholarly ideals.

Lastly, I would make acknowledgement to my former instructor and present colleague, Professor Hans Froelicher of Goucher College, for his careful reading of the final proof.

Baltimore, Md. A. B. H.

# *THE INFLUENCE OF WACE ON THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES OF CRESTIEN DE TROIES

## Introduction

All students of Arthurian romance have doubtless noticed the fact that attention[1] has now and then been called, generally in an incidental way, to the influence exerted by Geoffrey of Monmouth or his translator, Wace, on the French metrical romances of the twelfth century and succeeding periods. Bédier, for example, makes it evident[2] that Thomas is indebted to Wace for descriptions, episodes, geographical and personal names, and a certain historical verisimilitude; in other words that Wace exerted upon the author of *Tristan* an important influence. G. Paris, on the other hand, thought that the indebtedness of the metrical romances[2a] to the chronicles is, if it exists, slight and affects only certain details. In view of these opin-

* It has seemed best not to include the *Guillaume d' Angleterre* in this study, partly because the nature of the material handled here is distinctly Arthurian, and the *G.* is not an Arthurian romance; and partly because Crestien's authorship of this poem has not found general acceptance. G. Paris always regarded it as not the work of C. de Troies. Cf. *Rom.* VIII (1879) 315 n.; XIII (1884) 442; XXI (1892) 139; XXIX (1900) 154; *HL* XXX, 1888, 23; *Manuel* 2nd ed. 1888, 215; *Esquisse hist. de la Litt. Française*, 1907, 148; *JdS*, 1901, 705, n. 5; 1902, 58, n. 1; 306, n. 3. *See also* Paul Meyer, *Rom.* XIII, 315; XXXVII (1908) 485; O. Borrmann, *Litt-blatt* XXIX (1908): *Das Kurze Reimpaar bei C. von Troyes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des W. von Eng.*, Erlangen, 1907; reprinted in *RF* (1908) XXV, 287 ff. Crestien's chief supporter is W. Foerster who has discussed the question in nearly all of his editions of Crestien's works. His latest argument in *ZrP*, July 1910, 470 ff., seems to me to leave little to be said on the other side. Agreeing with Foerster are: Groeber, *GGr* II, 1, 524; *ZfS* XXII (1900) 4; Wilmotte, *MA*, 1889, 188; *Evolution des Romans Français, Paris*, 1903; 65; R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über den Verfasser der afz. Dichtung, W. von Eng.*, Bonn, 1881. A discussion of Crestien's possible indebtedness to Wace in the *Guillaume* must be reserved for separate study.

[1] Bédier, *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, "Soc. des Anc. Textes," Paris, 1905, I, 5, n. 1; 6, n. 2; 7, n. 1 f.; 52, n. 2; 72 ff.; 76, n. 1; 81 ff.; 236, n. 1; 254, n. 1; 289 & nn.; 307, nn. 2, 4; 308, n. 1; 406, note to v. 2884; II, 47 ff.; 99 ff. Brugger, *ZfS* XX (1898) 79 ff. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1907, 142 ff. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter....und das Wilhelmsleben....von Christian von Troyes*, Halle, 1899, CLXXVIII. *GGr* II, 499. Lot, *Rom.* XXIV (1895), 525, 527; XXVII (1898), 41 ff., 555, 567; XXVIII (1899), 3 ff., 47, n. 2. Paris, G., *Rom.* X (1881), 488; XVIII (1889), 590; XXVIII, 48, n.; *Hist. de la Litt. Française*, XXX, 5.; *La Litt. Française au Moyen Age* (*Manuel* 4th ed.) Paris, 1909, 95.; *JdS*, 1902, 307; *Esquisse*, 110. Paris, P., *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1868-77, I, 24. Thedens, *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees in seinem Verhältnis zu seinen Quellen, insbesondere zu den Romanen Crestiens von Troyes*, Göttingen, 1908, 126.

[2] Only a few cases he considers doubtful. *Op. cit.*, II, 99.

[2a] He admitted greater indebtedness on the part of the prose romances, however. *See HL* XXX, 31, n. *Cp.* Bruce, J. D., *Historia Meriodoci and De Ortu Waluuanii* .....Gottingen, 1913: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, pp. VIII, IX, etc.

ions it has seemed worth while to investigate consistently the romances of Crestien de Troies for the purpose of discovering what relation exists between the poet of Champagne and the authors of these semi-historical chronicles. As Crestien's narratives are based for the most part on an Arthurian framework, it is in the Arthurian portions of the chronicles that resemblance is mainly to be sought, hence it is with Arthurian material almost exclusively that this study will deal.

The legend of Arthur was handed down through two distinct channels: oral tradition and written sources [3] consisting of the chronicle histories of Britain, and perhaps of *contes* or *lais* in the style of Marie de France. Certainly oral tradition must have played a great part in the development of Arthurian romance, but the degree of oral influence is obviously difficult to estimate. In examining the chronicles as a source we have a much more tangible substance to handle, and the results obtained may in consequence be more satisfactory. It must be remembered, however, that the chronicles themselves were subject to popular influence.[4] This fact opens up the possibility, in some instances the probability, of a popular source common to both the romance and the history; thus a case of apparent borrowing from the chronicle may be merely a parallel. As such cases seldom admit of conclusive proof, they help to complicate the problem of the romancer's indebtedness to the historian. Wace, for example, introduces into chronicle history the order of the Round Table, but no one believes that the *Roman de Brut* alone is the source of Crestien's allusions to that institution. The Round Table, as Wace himself says,[5] was famous even in his day. Hence, though Crestien must have been familiar with Wace's account, it is equally reasonable to suppose that the Round Table was known to him through other channels [6] as well. One must

[3] For the most important theories on the sources of Arthurian material and its transmission to French soil, see *Karrenritter* CXIV. Loth, *Revue Celtique* XIII (1892) 475. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888; *Folklore Jour.* II, 234; *RC* XII (1891) 181. Paris, G., *Rom.* X, 448; *Manuel* 4th ed. 1909, 95; *HL* XXX, 5. Zimmer, *GGA* (1890) 786; *ZfS* XII (1891) 1; *Lit. Centralbl.* 1900, col. 2072. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der afz. Lit.*, Halle, 1905, 339 ff.

[4] *See* Fletcher, R. H., *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, *HSN* X (1906) 6, 10, 16, 32, 40, 42, 49, 85, 115, 137.

[5] Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Roman de Brut par Wace*, Rouen, 1836, II, vv. 9998-9.

[6] *See* Mott, L. F., *PMLA* XIII (1905) 231. Brown, A. C. L., *HSN* VII (1900) 183. Golther, *Gesch. der deut. Litt., Stuttgart*, 1893, I, 148. Weston, J. L., in *Mélanges Wilmotte*, Paris, 1910, 883. Zimmer, *GGA* (1890) 795. See also below, pp. 138 ff.

be on the lookout for sources common to both chronicle and romance and be prepared to give the non-chronicle origin due credit.

Arthurian story as presented in the chronicles of Britain developed out of shadowy beginnings.[7] The important points in the records before Geoffrey of Monmouth are as follows: Gildas, *De Exicidio et Conquestu Britanniae*[8] (547ca.) does not mention Arthur, but he describes the Arthurian period in which he names Ambrosius Aurelianus, a Roman-Briton leader, and gives an account of the battle of Mt. Badon or Bath Hill. Nennius, *Historia Britonum*[9] (796ca.) is the first to introduce Arthur by name. He entitles him *Dux bellorum.*[10] Ambrosius Aurelianus here becomes the magician of the Vortigern tower episode, "the boy without a father," and is called merely, Ambrosius.[11] Twelve battles are named in which Arthur is victor over the Saxons; the last is Mt. Badon where Arthur alone killed 160 men. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (1125)[12] shows that before the middle of the twelfth century the distinction had appeared between the historical and the fabulous Arthur.[13] Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum*[14] (1135ca.) shows the effect of popular stories, in that he calls Arthur, *Dux militum et regum Britanniae.* The chronicles written from the distinctly Saxon point of view, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (731), the *Saxon Chronicle* beginning with the year 527, and *Æthelweard's Chronicle*[15] (975ca.) do not mention Arthur at all, but they describe the period, and the wars between the Britons and the Saxons. These records form the his-

[7] *See* Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.

[8] Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquissimi,* XIII, *Chron.* III, Berlin, 1898, 1. Giles, J. A., *Six Old English Chronicles,* "Bohn Lib.", London, 1896, 295.

[9] Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 113. Gunn, W., (Vatican MS) London, 1819. Stevenson, J., (Harl MS) London, 1838. San Marte, *Nennius und Gildas,* Berlin, 1844. Giles, *op. cit.*, 383. For further bibliography see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 8.

[10] For a discussion of this title, *see* Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus,* Berlin, 1893, 285.

[11] *See* p. 5, n. 18 and Fletcher, *op. cit.* 18, 92 for explanation of the confusion.

[12] Stubbs, "Rolls Series," 1887-9.

[13] "This is the Arthur concerning whom the idle tales of the Britons rave wildly even to-day,—a man entirely worthy to be celebrated, not in the foolish dreams of deceitful fables, but in truthful histories; since for a long time he sustained the declining fortunes of his native land and incited the uncrushed courage of his people to war." Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 40.

[14] Arnold, "Rolls Series," 1879.

[15] *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 499 ff. The *Chronicle of St. Michel's Mount* (1056) and the *Annales Cambriae* (950ca.) contain brief records of Arthur. See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.

torical contribution to Arthurian story preceding the *Historia Regum Britanniae* [16] (1135ca.) of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Geoffrey's sources, as Fletcher [17] points out (p. 49) include all the important historians before his time, together with general and nearly contemporary history, contemporary manners and customs, myths, popular stories, and the *Liber Vetustissimus* in the British tongue, probably fabulous, which Geoffrey states [17a] was given him by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. Geoffrey, then, utilized practically every kind of material available, and his additions to Arthurian story are many and important.

*The Historia,* which is composed of 12 books, devotes to Arthurian narrative from VI, vi to XI, ii. The main points [18] of the narrative are here outlined.

VIII, xvii-xviii Accession of Uther Pendragon. Wars with the Saxons.

xix-xx Uther's amour and marriage with Ygerne. The birth of Arthur.

xxi-xxiv Wars with the Saxons. Death of Uther.

IX, i-viii. Accession of Arthur and wars with the Saxons. Battle of Bath Hill in which Arthur carries the picture of the Virgin,[19] and slays 470 men. Subjugation of Scotland.

ix Arthur distributes fiefs to the brothers Aguisel, Urien, and Lot, the father of Modred and Gawain. He marries Guanhumara.

x Foreign conquests,—Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orkneys. Twelve years of peace.

xi Conquests continued,—Norway, Dacia (Denmark) Aquitaine, and Gaul. Arthur bestows Neustria (Normandy) upon Bedver, his butler, and Andegavia (Anjou) on Caius, his sewer.

[16] The best edition of the *Historia* is by San Marte (A. Schulz) *Gottfrieds von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae.....und Brut Tysylio, Halle,* 1854. *See also* Giles, *op. cit.,* 89 ff. For a bibliography of Geoffrey's life and works *see* Fletcher. *op. cit.,* 50 f.

[17] *See also* Rhŷs & Evans, *The Texts of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest,* Oxford, 1890, p. XXVII.

[17a] *HRB,* I, i. All citations are made from the San Marte ed.

[18] Bks. VI,vi—VIII,xvii, though properly belonging to Arthurian story—the account of Merlin's deeds and prophecies—are omitted because they have no bearing on the present problem. Merlin is the development of the Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas. *See* Fletcher, *op. cit.,* 18, 92.

[19] Compare Nennius, in Giles, *op. cit.,* 408.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | xii-xiv | The grand coronation. |
| | xv-xx | Rome demands tribute from Britain. Arthur's council decides on war. Arthur assembles his forces. |
| X, | ii | Arthur entrusts his kingdom to Queen Guanhumara and his nephew, Modred, and embarks for the continent. |
| | iii | Arthur's adventure with the giant of Mont St.-Michel. |
| | iv-xii | The war with Rome,—exploits of Gawain and others. Death of Caius and Bedver. Defeat of the Romans. |
| | xiii | Arthur gets word that Modred has usurped the throne and married Guanhumara. |
| XI, | i-ii | Arthur's return to Britain. War with Modred. Death of Gawain and Aguisel whose realm descends to his nephew, Eventus (Yvain) son of his brother, Urien. Retirement of Guanhumara. Death of Modred. Disappearance of Arthur. |

It is now evident that Geoffrey of Monmouth is the literary creator of Arthurian story, a creator in the sense that he has brought together from scattered sources, learned and popular, oral and written, much available information already connected with Arthur or that was possible of connection, and has worked it over into a permanent and accessible form.

The next important step in the progress of Arthurian story was made by the Norman poet, Wace,[20] whose *Geste as Bretons* or *Roman de Brut* (date, 1155) [21] purports to be a translation of the *Historia*. It is important to make clear at the outset the relation of the French to the Latin work in order to decide, if possible, whether Crestien's indebtedness to Wace involves also a use of Geoffrey. We may begin with Wace's own statement as to his connection with the *Historia*.

B I, 9 Ki vuelt [22] oïr et vuelt saveir

[20] For account of Wace's life *see* pp. 10 ff.

[21] *Brut* 15299.

[22] Since the only text of the *Brut* accessible at present is not a critical text, and contains a variety of dialectal forms, I have attempted to restore my quotations in some measure to the Norman dialect, using as a basis Warnke's ed. of the *Lais of Marie de France*, Halle, 1885,

De rei en rei et d'eir en eir,
Qui cil furent et dunt il vindrent
Qui Engleterre primes tindrent
Quanz reis i a en ordre eü
Qui anceis et qui puis i fu,
Maistre Wace l'a translaté
Qui en cunte la verité
Si cum li livres le devise.

Wace's idea of a translation was that of a free paraphrase where the translator was at liberty to adhere literally to the original or to depart from it at will. Alfred Ulbrich in his dissertation *Über das Verhältnis von Wace's Roman de Brut zu seiner Quelle der Hist. reg. Brit. des Gottfried von Monmouth,* Erlangen, 1908, has shown that Wace uses both of these methods; at times he takes over Geoffrey's text word for word, and again, he is quite free with omissions and additions. Ulbrich, Fletcher,[23] and I myself, after comparative analysis of the two works have arrived at practically the same conclusion: the changes made by Wace are nearly all in an effort towards artistic improvement, and his additions to Geoffrey's facts are with two exceptions, unimportant. These exceptions are the Round Table and Arthur's return from Avalon.

In estimating Wace's influence on Arthurian romance, his stylistic additions are of the highest significance because they give to his book an artistic value that Geoffrey's history does not possess, and thus bring the French narrative much closer to the taste and abilities of the romancers who were to carry on Arthurian story to later times. The author of the *Historia* is by no means without narrative and descriptive skill, but as anyone can see who compares the two styles, Wace often gets into his short couplets a fire and a feeling impossible to Geoffrey's polished Latin periods. A few examples of his method of amplifying and enlivening his narrative may make this distinction clear.

a. Mere amplification.

1. *HRB* I, iii. Aeneas post Trojanum bellum urbis excidium cum Ascanio diffugiens, Italiam navigio adivit.
   *B* 10-36. 26 lines.
2. *HRB* II, vii. Condidit etiam Ebracus urbem Alclud Albaniam

[23] Ulbrich, *op. cit.*, 71 ff. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 142 f.

versus et oppidum montis Agned: quod nunc Castellum Puellarum dicitur et montem Dolorosum.
*B* 1558-1574. 17 lines.

3. *HRB* IX, i. Erat autem Arturus quindicem annorum juvenis, inauditiae virtutis atque liberalitatis: in quo tantam gratiam innata bonitas praestiterat, ut a cunctis fere populis amaretur.
*B* 9247-9265.[23a] 18 lines.

4. *HRB* IX, xiv. Refecti tandem epulis, diversi diversos ludos compositurі campos extra civitatem adeunt. Mox milites simulacrum praelii ciendo, equestram ludum componunt: mulieres in edito murorum aspicientes, in curiales amoris flammas amore joci irritant. Alii telis, alii hasta, alii ponderosorum lapidum jactu, alii saxis: alii aleis caeterorumque jocorum diversitate contendentes, quod diei rastabat, postposita lite, praetereunt.
*B* 10801-10867. 66 lines.

In comparing these passages it will be observed that the elaboration does not consist merely in the addition of words necessitated by the transition from a highly inflected to a less fully inflected language, but in the addition of ideas, of specific detail. In most cases of elaboration Wace infuses into his narrative much of the spirit, emotion, and realistic detail that mark the true mediaeval poet of romance.

b. Elaboration infused with spirit.

1. *HRB* IX, vi. Cumque nulli prout reperiebatur parceret, convenerunt omnes Episcopi miserandae patriae, cum omni clero sibi subdito, reliquias sanctorum et ecclesiastica sacramenta nudis ferentes pedibus, misericordiam regis pro salute populi sui implorantes. Mox ut praesentiam ejus habuerunt, flexis genibus deprecati sunt, ut pietatem super contrita gente haberet. Satis etenim periculi intulerat, nec erat opus perpaucos qui remanserant, usque ad unum delere. Sineret illos porti uniculam patriae habere, perpetuae servitutis jugum ultro congestaturos. Cumque regem in hunc modum rogavissent, commovit eum pietas in lachrymas, sanctorumque virorum petitioni acquiescens, veniam donavit.
*B* 9700-9762. 62 lines.
Wace dwells on the wretched appearance of the petitioners,—

[23a] For the significance of this passage *see* p. 81.

women with children in their arms, crying, "Sire, have mercy on us. If you cannot pity the fathers, behold the children and the mothers." He depicts their woe and fear over the separation of families, and describes at length their appeal to Arthur in the name of Christianity. Though the human element is not absent in Geoffrey's account the Latin passage has nothing of the vividness of this.

2. A passage in which the contrast is particularly noticeable is that describing Guinevere's behavior after Modred's defeat. Geoffrey says merely:

> *HRB* XI, i. Quod ut Ganhumarae reginae annunciatum est, confestim desperans, ab Eboraco ad urbem Legionum diffugit atque in templo Julii Martyris inter monachas ejusdem caste vivere proposuit, et vitam monachalem suscepit.

This implies that she went merely for the reason that her cause was lost. Wace dwells on her recognition of her guilt, and we can imagine that he saw the end of Guinevere not without feeling when he wrote:

*B* 13621 Mielz volsist morte estre que vive,
Mult en esteit morne et pensive,
A Karliün s'en est fuïe,
S'en entra en une abeïe
Ilues devint nunne velée;
Tute sa vie i fu celée.
Ne fu oïe ne veüe,
Ne fu trovée ne seüe
Pur la vergogne del mesfait
Et del pechié qu'ele aveit fait. 23 lines in all.

3. A passage entirely absent from the *Historia* is that describing the bustle of preparation pending Arthur's grand coronation (B 10609-34). It glows with color and action, and makes the reader feel as though he were acually being jostled in the crowded streets and courts of a mediaeval town.

4. Still another such passage is the account of Arthur's fight with the giant of Mont St.-Michel where Wace adds the interesting detail, no doubt drawn from personal observation, that Arthur and his men had to wait for the tide to go out before they could cross over to the rock (11846 ff.).

5. At times Wace slips into a lyrical strain that might well become Crestien or even the author of *Partonopeus de Blois:*

*B* 3043 Bel fu li tens cum en esté
Bele la nuit e sanz oré,
E la lune bien cler raia.

Again, on the eve of the war with Rome when Gawain says to Arthur:

*B* 11045 Bone est la pais après la guerre
Plus riche e mieldre en est la terre,
Mult sunt bones les gaberies,
Li deduit e les druëries:
Pur la noblesce de s'amie
Fait juevnes hum chevalerie. (See pp. 111, 146).

These citations are only a few of the many that might be collected to show Wace's literary superiority to his original, but they are sufficient to indicate that the Norman chronicler though no less a historian than Geoffrey is far more of a poet and hence much nearer to the taste of Thomas, Crestien, and other romancers to whom his work was accessible. Crestien's style also is marked by vividness and abundance of realistic detail. Indeed there is not a single parallel between Crestien and Wace, where, when the facts are identical as stated by Geoffrey, Wace, and Crestien, the Champagne poet has not taken Wace's details in addition to the facts. These details are in most cases altogether absent from the *Historia.* Thus the very nature of Crestien's art invites him to follow Wace. Bédier, in his edition [23b] of Thomas's *Tristan* argues on this same ground that his poet used Wace and not Geoffrey. Furthermore, Wace writes in Crestien's tongue, and uses the romantic verse form of the period. These considerations while obvious are not without weight. Certainly no poet in that day of translation, borrowing, and imitation would be likely to reject a source ready made for one that must be entirely worked over. It can scarcely be proved that Crestien was not acquainted with the Latin history, but it can safely be said that he shows no [24] evidence of such knowledge. Comparison of the three styles leads to the conclusion that even if Crestien had the opportunity of using either

[23b] *See* I, 5, n. 1; 82, n. 1; 308, n. 1; II, 99. Festgabe für H. Suchier, Halle, 1900, 82, n. 1.

[24] *See* the Dolorous Mount, pp. 142 ff.

the *Historia* or the *Brut* he deliberately chose the latter because it was in closer touch with his genius.

### *Wace Crestien*

Biographical information concerning both Wace and Crestien is exceedingly meager. What little we know about Wace is preserved in his own poems (chiefly in the *Roman de Rou*) in the *Chronique Ascendante des Ducs de Normandie*,[24a] in four documents connected with the history of the cathedral of Bayeux, and in Laȝamon's *Brut*.

The facts furnished by these records are as follows: The poet was born in the island of Jersey (*R* II, 5321 ff.).[25]

His mother was probably the daughter of Toustein, chamberlain to Robert I, duke of Normandy (*R* II, 3237 ff.). His father seems to have been present at St. Valeri, at the embarkation of William the Conqueror for England (*R* II, 6445 ff.). While still a child, Wace was taken to Caen to learn letters (*R* II, 5326 f.); later he continued his education in France.[26] From France he returned to Caen where he became *clerc lisant*,[27] an office which he held during the reigns of three Henries (*R* II, 177 ff, 11493 ff.) who were kings of England and dukes of Normandy.[28] At Caen, too, he busied himself with the making of romances and *serventeis*, with translating, and with the writing of *livres* (*R* II, 143 ff., 5329 ff.) a task which, to judge from his half serious, half humorous account,

[24a] This work is mentioned apart from the *Rou* because Wace's authorship of it is still uncertain. *See* Andresen, G. Paris, and Du Méril as in next note.

For accounts of Wace's life and work *see* Andresen, H., *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, Heilbronn, 1877, I, *Einleitung;* Archer, T. A., *The Battle of Hastings, The Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1894; Bréquigny, *Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, V, 21 ff.; De la Rue, *An Epistolary Diss. upon the Life and Writings of Robert Wace, Archeologia* XII (1706) 50 ff.; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LVIII, 404; Du Méril, *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.* I (1859) 1 ff., reprinted in his *Études*, 1862, 214 ff. De la Rue, *Essais sur les Bardes*, Caen, 1834, II, 158 ff.; Fletcher, *op. cit.* 127 ff.; *GGr* II, i, 635; Kloppe, *Recherches sur le Dialect de Guace*, Magdeburg, 1853; Koerting, *Ueber die Quellen des Roman de Rou*, Leipsig, 1867; Morley H., *Eng. Writers* (2nd ed.) III, 55 ff.; Paris, G., *Rom.* IX (1880) 592 ff.; Pluquet, *La Chron. Ascendante* in *Mem. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie*, I, pt. II, Caen, 1825; *Retrospective Rev.*, II (1853) 92 ff.; Round, J. H., *Wace and his Authorities, Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1893; reprinted in *Feudal Eng.*, 409 ff.; San Marte, *HRB, Einleitung*, XXI, ff.; Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, *see* Index, 500; Ward, H. L. D., *Cat. of Romances in the Brit. Museum*, I, 260. The fullest accounts are those of Paris, Du Méril, and Andresen.

[25] Andresen's ed., vol. I contains pts. I, II, and the *Chron. Ascendante;* vol. II consists of pt. III. References to *R* II mean *Rou, Vol. II.*

[26] G. Paris, *Rom.* IX, 594, says this means Paris.

[27] The exact nature of this office is as yet undetermined.

[28] These were Henry I, son of the Conqueror, Henry II, and Prince Henry, son of the latter who was crowned in 1170 during his father's lifetime, but who died before his father in 1183. *See* Stubbs, *The Early Plantagenets*, "Epochs of Mod. Hist.," ed. by E. Morris, N. Y., 1891, 81, 103.

brought him in more reputation than gold. One of the works composed during this period must have been the *Roman de Brut,* for Wace says at the close of this narrative that he finished it in the year 1155 (B 15297 ff.). From Lazamon [29] we learn the interesting detail that Wace's *Brut* was dedicated to Eleanor, wife of Henry II.[30] As the *Chronique Ascendante* states that the *Roman de Rou* was begun by Wace in 1160, (*R* I, p. 206, vv. 1 ff.) this work too, may have been among the many literary labors undertaken at Caen. Wace was with the court when the bodies of Dukes Richard I and II of Normandy were interred at Fécamp (*R* II, 2246). He was made prebendary or canon of Bayeux by Henry II, in whose honor he composed at least the third part of the *Rou* (*R* II, 172 ff., 185 ff., 5335 f.). Unhappily for the poet he was not allowed to complete his history of the dukes of Normandy. For some reason which he does not divulge, he was compelled to stand by, and see a certain *Maistre Beneeit* [31] preferred in his place (*R* II, 11481 ff.). Wace felt this act as an indignity, and the bitter, closing lines of the *Rou* are a pathetic contrast to the earlier passage where he praises the king as a gracious patron (*R* II, 167 ff.).

Evidence for the dates of Wace's canonship and death is supplied by four contemporary documents relating to the history of the cathedral of Bayeux, three of which bear the dates respectively of 1169, 1172, and 1174. The fourth is undated, but according to Du Méril [32] it belongs to the same period as the dated charters. According to this testimony, Wace was prebendary of Bayeux by 1169. Just when he was appointed to this office wo do not know.[33] As no later documents bearing the poet's name have yet come to light, it has been generally concluded that he died shortly after 1174.

Of the romances, translations, histories, and *serventeis* upon which Wace says he was engaged only three aside from the chronicles have come down to us. These are short poems, all of a reli-

[29] *The Brut* ed. by Sir Frederick Madden, London, 1847, I, 3.

[30] For discussion of this question see Paris, *Rom.* IX, 595.

[31] "This Benoit has in the past been regularly identified with the well known author of the *Roman de Troie,* Benoit de Ste-More; but the identification is now questioned." Schofield, *op. cit.,* 122. Cp. G. Paris *JdS,* 1902, 203, n. 2.

[32] *Op. cit.,* 6.

[33] *See* G. Paris, Du Méril, and Andresen, *u. s.*

gious character: *La Vie de St. Nicholas,*[34] *La Vie de Ste. Marguerite,*[35] and *La Conception de la Vierge.*[36] Among the disputed questions concerning Wace's life and work are: the date of his birth, put variously from 1100 to 1124; the authorship of the *Chronique Ascendante* and its relation to the *Roman de Rou;* and the poet's social rank, Du Méril believing that his father was a carpenter, and G. Paris, that Wace was of noble birth. These matters, however, belong more properly to a critical biography of Wace, and are aside from the present purpose.

Crestien, unlike Wace, has eliminated the personal element so completely from his writings, that a discussion of his life must comprise little more than an attempt to arrange his works in chronological order and to fix their dates. The accepted facts regarding Crestien's life and works are to be found chiefly in his own poems. He was a native, presumably, of Troyes in Champagne (*E* 9)[37]; he received a scholastic education;[38] was a protégé of Marie de Champagne [39] (*L* 1 ff.); and was the author of five Arthurian romances in the following order: *Erec, Cligès, Lancelot, Yvain,* and *Perceval;* probably a *roman d'avanture* called *Guillaume d'Angleterre;*[40] a poem called *Marc et Iseut;* and some pieces based on classic models, principally on Ovid (*C* 1 ff.). *Marc et Iseut* and the *Ovidiana,*[41] as Foerster calls them, are lost.

The extant poems can be dated only approximately: *Perceval* comes before 1191 since it is dedicated to Philip of Flanders (*P* 12),

[34] Ed. by Monmarqué (*Mélanges pub. par la Soc. des Bibliophiles frs.* VII and by Delius, Bonn, 1850.

[35] Ed. by Joly, A., Paris, 1879 (*Extrait des Mem. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie*), reviewed by P. Meyer, *Rom.* VIII (1879) 275 f. and *Deux Redactions diverses de la Légende de Ste. Marguerite en vers frs.*.....par A. Scheler, 1877, reviewed by P. Meyer, *Rom.* VII (1878) 339 ff.; printed in part by Delisle, *Rom.* II (1873) 93 f.; reprinted by P. Meyer, *Rom.* VI (1877) 1 ff. *See* H. Morley, *op. cit.* 56 ff.

[36] Ed. by Manel and Trébutien, Caen, 1842, and by Luzarche, Tours, 1859.

[37] Crestien's romances are referred to in each case by the initial letter of the hero's name.

[38] Based on his familiarity with Ovid (*C* 2 ff., 441 ff.), his mention of Macrobius, and his description of the quadrivium (*E* 6736, 6741 ff.)

[39] Cf. *Eructavit,* attributed by T. A. Jenkins to Adam de Perseigne, Dresden, 1909. The *Eructavit* uses *Madame de Champagne* and *la jantis seur le roi France* (Philip II) expressions interpreted by H. Arbois de Jubainville as referring to Marie, countess of Champagne.

[40] *See* p. 1, n. *

[41] *See* p. 16 & n. 64.

then living, who died in 1191;[42] *Yvain,* before 1173 because it mentions as still living, the Saracen chief, Noradin (*Y* 595) who died in that year;[43] *Lancelot,* after 1164, since it is dedicated to Marie, Countess of Champagne who did not acquire that title until after her marriage to Henry I, count of Champagne, in that year.[44] For *Erec* and *Cligès* there are no generally accepted dates. The order of the romances is fixed by the opening lines of *Cligès* which list *Erec,* the *Ovidiana,* and *Marc et Iseut* as already written; and by the mention in *Yvain* 3706, 4740[45] of incidents in the *Lancelot.* Thus the three romances not named in *Cligès* must have followed it in composition, and of these three, *Perceval* must be the last, if we accept the word of Gerbert de Montreuil in his continuation of the *Perceval,*[46] that death prevented Crestien from finishing his poem. The *Lancelot* also, Crestien left unfinished, probably in order to turn to more congenial work, but it was completed, he tells us, by his friend, Godfrei de Leigny.[47]

The poet tells us that he got some of his source material from his patrons: Marie de Champagne furnished him with the *sens* and the *matière* for his *Charrete* (*L* 1 ff.), and Count Philip gave him the *Livre* of the Grail story (*P* 66). According to the testimony of his contemporaries and successors, Crestien attained considerable fame in his own day, and was looked upon as a master.[48] Whether he had any other occupation than that of letters is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that the absence of his name from contemporary official documents points to his rise from an humble origin.[49]

The lack of certainty in the dates of the romances, together with entire absence of information on matters concerning the poet's life has given opportunity for much difference of opinion. The chief debatable questions, are the exact dating of the works; the authorship of the *Philomèle,* of *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* and of certain

[42] *See C,* 3rd ed. 1910, XXI.

[43] *See C,* 3rd ed. XV. Paris, *JdS,* 1902, 302.

[44] H. Arbois de Jubainville, *Hist. des Ducs. et des Comtes de Champagne,* 1861, III, 82.

[45] *See E,* 1909 ed. VIII, n. 2.

[46] Potvin ed. VI, 212, Paris, 1866.

[47] *See Karrenritter* LXXXVI and Paris, *Rom.* XII (1883) 462.

[48] Holland, *Crestien von Troies,* Tübingen, 1854, 29, 50, 179, 243; "Large *E,*" XII ff.; *C,* 3rd ed., VI; *E* 23; *GGr* I (1888) 430, n. 2; *HL* XXX, 25, 143; *JdS,* 1902, 289 ff.

[49] *JdS,* 1902, 203, n. 4; *C,* 3rd ed. VI.

*chansons* once accepted unquestionably as Crestien's; whether the poem which Crestien in *Cligès* calls *Marc et Iseut*, was an episodic poem or a long romance, and its relation to *Cligès;* finally, the poet's occupation.

The principal investigations in these and all other matters connected with Crestien's life have been made by Foerster in *Cligès*, 3rd ed. 1910, VI ff. and by Gaston Paris in the *Journal des Savants*, 1902, 302 ff.[50]

The datings of Paris and Foerster are as follows.

| Foerster | Paris | |
|---|---|---|
| 1160 ca. | *Erec* [51] | 1168 |
| 1164 ca. | *Cligès* | 1170 ca. |
| 1164, after | *Lancelot* | 1172 ca. |
| 1173, before | *Yvain* | 1173-4 |
| 1170, nicht zu spät nach | *Perceval* [52] | 1174-7 |

It is evident that both Foerster and Paris limit the period of composition for the five romances to about ten years, the only difference being that Foerster sets the starting point back eight years. Both attempt to date the *Erec* from the rather uncertain evidence offered by the three *romans d'antiquité*, the *Thèbes*, *Troie*, and *Énéas*, since the *Erec* [53] mentions these works. They agree that the Troy book, the latest of the three, was dedicated to Eleanor, wife of Henry II of England, and Paris [54] goes so far as to say that the nature of the address points to her having been some time on the throne. As Henry came into power in 1154, having married Eleanor two years earlier, Paris dates the *Roman de Troie* at 1160 or even later. But examination of this so-called dedication thrust obscurely into the middle of the poem (13432 ff., Soc. des anc. Textes

[50] For other discussions *see* G. Paris, *La Litt. française au Moyen Age*, 4th ed. Paris, 1909, 102; *Esquisse*, 110; *HL* XXX, 23; *Rom.* XII, 459 ff.; *Rom.* XX (1891) 161; *GGr* II, i, 495 ff.; Holland, *op. cit.;* Muret, *Rom.* XVI (1887) 361; Suchier, Birch-Hirschfeld, *Gesch. der franz. Litt.*, 1900, 137 ff.; Wechssler, *Die Sage vom heiligen Gral*, Bonn, 1898, 146 ff.; Foerster, *Walter von Arras* (ROM. BIBL. VII) I, p. XIII & n. 22, XV. The subject is treated to some extent in nearly all the editions of Crestien's works. For a good summary of the question see Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, 295 ff.

[51] *GGr* II, i, 498, "vor 1164." Lot, *Rom.* XXVIII, 323, "1160 ca."

[52] Wechssler, *op. cit.*, 148, "1180-1."

[53] The reference in *Erec* to the *Tale of Troy* (6844) is merely a passing allusion to Helen, the source of which may not have been the *Troy-book;* it may have come from the *Énéas*.

[54] *JdS*, 1902, 303 & n. 2; *C*, 3rd ed. XVIII.

ed.) shows, as pointed out by Petit de Julleville,[55] almost nothing upon which to base an identification. Hence, with the date of the *Troy-book* still uncertain, that work is of little assistance in dating the *Erec*.[56]

Paris fixed upon 1172 for *Lancelot* on the ground that Marie, only nineteen at the time of her marriage, 1164, would not be likely to hold the opinions on love which she apparently gave over to Crestien in the *sens* and the *matière* for the *Charrete*. Foerster objects to this view: "Marie hat ja den zweiten Teil des *Heraklius*, die schamlose Ehebruchgeschichte der Athanais, veranlasst (6553) und zwar nicht lange nach ihrer Hochzeit; denn der *H* fällt um 1164;" thus he gives his reason for dating the *Lancelot* at 1164. Neither is Bédier's date for the *Tristan* of Thomas, 1160 or between 1155-1170 at the outside,[57] (and both he and Paris [58] agree that *Cligès* shows the influence of Thomas) of much assistance in fixing the years for the earlier romances except to demonstrate that Crestien's literary career could not have begun later than 1160 and therefore that *Erec* and *Cligès* must have appeared between 1160-1170.

Paris [59] assigns *Perceval* to 1174-7 because at no other period in Count Philip's life was he in a position to receive the tribute paid him by Crestien. Foerster disagrees with this opinion.[59] Wechssler's dating for the *Perceval* is also untrustworthy. He [60] puts it at 1180-1, the year of Count Philip's regency for Philip Augustus on the assumption that the count previous to that period was not sufficiently prominent to have deserved Crestien's encomium. Gautier d'Espinal,[61] however, mentions Philip in no uncertain terms as a lover of poetry; from which we may infer that it was not Philip's political position alone, that brought him distinction. Thus it is evident that attempts to give exact dates to the romances have so

[55] *Hist. de la Litt. française*, I, 197. Foerster admits that these lines may be an insertion, *C*, 3rd ed. XVIII. Note that the Arsenal MS of the *Troie*, Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie, ed., Joly, Paris, 1869, XXVII, 66, shows that this passage is there made to refer to the Virgin. This looks as though the allusion was originally so vague as to admit of an entirely different interpretation in a later MS.

[56] Foerster's argument for the date of *Cligès*, as Paris has already shown (*JdS*, 1902, 302 f.) is not sound. Foerster seems still to hold the same view (*C*, 1910, XX).

[57] *Tristan* II, 46, 55.

[58] *Op. cit.*, 46 ff. *JdS*, 1902, 347 ff.

[59] *JdS*, 1902, 305. *C*, 3rd ed. XXII.

[60] *Op. cit.*, 148.

[61] Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens Chansoniers de France*, Marburg, 1896, 13.

far proved unsatisfactory, and that for the present we must be content with approximate dates.

The *Philomèle* [62] is regarded as Crestien's by Paris,[63] and rejected by Foerster.[64] The six lyrics, once considered unquestionably the work of Crestien are now rejected with the possible exception of two.[65] The poem called by Crestien *Marc et Iseut* was thought by Paris [66] to be merely a short, episodic composition rather than a long romance, since from the title it appears to have been concerned with Marc rather than with Tristan. Foerster [66] takes the reference to mean a Tristan romance which he believes furnished the model for *Cligès*. He does not acknowledge Crestien's indebtedness to Thomas, but thinks the obligation lay the other way.

The question whether Crestien had any other occupation than that of letters is regarded variously. Paris,[67] on the basis of line 5591 in the *Lancelot* holds that the poet was a herald; Wechssler,[67] on the ground of his frequent scriptural allusions thinks that he was a cleric; Foerster disagrees with both of these opinions but offers no alternative.

On the assumption that *Perceval* shows no sign of declining power Paris thinks that Crestien died about the age of 40, and on the basis of the ten year period of production for the romances that he began to write about 1160, at the age of 25.[68] This theory does not seem unreasonable.

[62] Ed., de Boer, Paris, 1909.

[63] *HL* XXIX, 489; *Rom.* XXII (1893) 271; *Manuel* 4th ed. 83.

[64] *C*, 3rd ed. VII, See also *GGr* II, i, 592.

[65] See Holland, *op. cit.*, 226 ff.; *Karrenritter* CLXXXII ff.; *C*, 3rd ed. XIV.

[66] *JdS*, 1902, 297 ff.; *C*, 3rd ed. XXXIX ff.

[67] *JdS*, 1902, 295 & n. 2; 296 nn.; Wechssler, *op. cit.*, 146 ff. Groeber, *Gr* II, i, 497, agrees with Paris.

[68] *JdS*, 1902, 306.

## Chapter I

### *Episodes—Erec, Cligès*

In a study of sources the first testimony to be considered is that of the author himself. The story of *Erec,* Crestien says he took from a *conte d'avanture* (*E* 13); for *Cligès* he used *un des livres de l'aumeire Mon seignor saint Pere a Biauvez* (*C* 20 f.); the *sens* and the *matière* for the *Charrete* he got, as we have seen, from Marie de Champagne;[1] for *Yvain* Crestien does not name a source;[2] the *Perceval* owes its being, as already noted,[3] to a *livre* given the poet by his patron, Philip of Flanders. We possess little definite knowledge about the character of these sources: the *conte d'avanture* was probably an oral tale;[4] the material furnished by Marie was doubtless oral[5] in form also. The term, *livre,* mentioned in *Cligès* and *Perceval,* may have meant a Latin book.[6] The extent of Crestien's indebtedness to these originals it is obviously impossible to estimate. It is not likely that in any of his romances he relied on one source alone. Like Geoffrey and Wace he built up his story out of material gathered from various channels. Disregarding Wace for the moment, we find *Cligès* indebted in the first part to the *Tristan* of Thomas, and in the second, to the *Marquès de Rome* tale;[7] the *Charrete* to an other-world abduction story and the Lancelot legend;[8] and *Perceval* to the grail story and the legend of Gawain, to say nothing of other elements.[9] In view of these

[1] *See* p. 13.

[2] *See,* however, Golther, *ZfS* XXV (1903) 139, who thinks the closing lines of *Yvain* point to a *conte.* He cites also line 2153. I think the evidence is not clear.

[3] *See* p. 13.

[4] *E,* 2nd ed. XXII; Paris, *Rom.* XX (1891) 152.

[5] *Karrenritter,* XXII, LXXVI; Paris, *Rom.* XII, 507, 509, 543; Golther, *ZfS* XXII (1900) 4. For other views see *Rom.* XII, 485.

[6] The exact connotation of *livre* is uncertain. Surely in *E* 6742 it means a Latin book, for it there refers to a work of Macrobius, but just as surely in *L* 27 it means a French romance, for there Crestien speaks of his own story, the *Charrete,* as his *livre.* In *C* 20, 24, 27, 30, and in *P* 67 the use is not quite so clear, but from the context, the reading "Latin book" would seem to be more reasonable. Cp. *GGr* II, i, 499; Paris, *Manuel,* 4th ed., 102.

[7] Bédier, *op. cit.,* I, 8, n. 1; 10, n. 1; II, 47. "Large *C*" XV. Foerster, however declares the first part of *C* to be "freie Erfindung," *C* 3rd ed. XXXII. Paris, *JdS,* 1902, 348, 351, 354, 643, ff.; van Hamel, *Rom.* XXXIII (1904) 473 ff. and Bédier are of one opinion. Cp. Golther, *ZfS* XXIV (1902) 10.

[8] *Karrenritter* XX; *Y,* 3rd ed. XXI; Paris, *Rom.* XII, 533 ff.

[9] *Y,* 3rd ed. XXI; Nitze, *PMLA* (N. S.) XVII (1903) 365 ff.; and p. 86 of this study.

facts, aside from the consideration that Crestien's testimony may indicate in a general way either a popular or a literary origin for his romance, such evidence militates neither for nor against Crestien's possible obligation to Wace. In other words, the theory that Crestien has borrowed from Wace would not at all conflict with his own statements about his sources, or with any indirect evidence offered by the text.

A study of Crestien's relation to the Norman chronicler may be based upon style (reserved for separate investigation, see p. 151, n. 32) and material according to the following categories: Episodes, Characters, Geography, Romantic background, Social and Moral ideas.[10] The chronological order of the romances has been followed, partly for convenience, partly because this arrangement may throw some light on the development of Crestien's chronicle borrowings. The method used is to proceed with one division at a time through all the romances, not to treat each work as a separate unit.

## *Erec*

The two royal ceremonies in *Erec,* the marriage of Erec and Enide and later, their coronation, events to which the poet devotes much careful attention, recall in many respects the famous scene in the *Brut,* descriptive of the coronation of Arthur after his return from the campaign for the mastery of Britain and neighboring territory. The passages here compared will be best understood if read with the help of the table on pages 23 ff.

The *Roman de Brut—the coronation of Arthur.* Cp. *HRB* IX, xii-xiv.

Pur ses richeces demustrer
E pur faire de lui parler,
Prist cunseil, si li fu loé,
Qu'a la Pentecuste, en esté,
Feïst sun barnage assembler
E dunt se feïst curuner
A Karliün, en Glamorgan,
Manda tuz ses baruns par ban.
(*The city described,* 10462-10497)
Tuz ses baruns i fist venir.
Manda ses reis e tuz ses cuntes,
Manda ses dus e ses viscuntes;
Manda baruns, manda chaséz,
Manda evesques e abéz.
Manda Françeis e Burguignuns,
Manda Auvergnaz e Gascuns,
Manda Normanz e Peitevins,
Manda Mansaus e Angevins,
Manda Breibançuns e Flamens,
Manda Hanuiers e Lorens,
Manda Frisuns, manda Tieis,

[10] As these classes are not always mutually exclusive, occasionally a question properly belonging to the geographical division, for instance, must be treated in connection with episodes or characters. There is, however, a separate chapter on geography.

Manda Noreis, manda Daneis.
Manda Escoz, manda Ireis,
Manda puis les Islandeis,
Manda puis les Cateneis,
Manda puis les Gotlandeis,
[Et?]Manda ceus de Galewée
Manda ceus qui tindrent Orcanée;
D'Escoce i vint reis Aguisel,
.....
De Moreif Uriëns li reis,
E Yvains ses filz li curteis.
Loth de Loëneis i vint
Qui mult grant part de la curt tint;
Avuec lui vint Gawains ses filz
Qui mult esteit frans e gentilz.
.....
E Kex qui esteit quens d'Angiers,
E Beduiers de Neüstrie
Que l'um or claime Normandie.
*The city all a'bustle with preparation,* 10609-10635.
Al matin, al jur de la feste,
Ce dist l'estoire de la geste,
Li vindrent tuit li arcevesque
E li abé e li evesque.
El palais le rei curunerent
E a l'eglise le menèrent:
Dui arcevesque le menoënt
Qui a ses dous costez aloënt;
Chascuns un braz li susteneit
De si qu'à sun siège veneit.
Quatre espées i ot à or,
Que punt, que helt, que entretor,
Quatre reis ces quatre portoënt
Qui par devant Artur aloënt;
Cist mestiers lur aparteneit,
Quant li reis Artus curt teneit.
Cil d'Escoce, cil de Susguales,
E li tierz esteit de Norguales;
Cador de Cornuaille esteit
Qui la quarte espee teneit.
N'aveit pas menurs disnitez
Que se il fust reis curunez.
Dubric qui de Rome ert légaz,
E de Karliün ert prélaz
Emprist à faire le mustier
E ce esteit en sun mestier.
La reïne par grant esgart
Fu servie de l'altre part.
Devant la feste aveit mandées
E à cele curt assamblées
Les granz dames de cel païs.
.....
Pur cele feste maintenir
En se chambre fu curunée,
E el temple as nunains menée.
(*Confusion at the churches,* 10673- )
As processiüns à grant presse,
Chascuns d'aler devant s'engresse
.....
Mult veïssiez par ces mustiers
Aler e venir chevaliers,
.....
Quant li services est finéz,
E *Ite missa* est chantéz,
Li reis a sa curune ostée
Qu'il aveit al mustier portée;
Altre curune menur prist
E la reïne ánsement fist;
Jus mistrent les greignurs aturs,
Plus legiers pristrent e menurs.
Quant li reis partit del mustier
En sun palais ala mangier.
*According to the Trojan custom, the men and women eat in separate apartments,* 10725-36
Quant li reis fu al deis assis,
A la custume del païs,
Assis sunt li barun entur,
Chascuns en l'ordre de seignur,
Li seneschals Kex aveit nun
Vestus d'un vermel siglatun
Cil servi al mangier le rei;
Mil dameisiaus aveit à sei
Qui esteit vestu d'ermine,
Cil serveient de la quisine;
Beduiers, de l'altre partie
Serveit de la bottellerie:
.....

10783 Ja n'i veïssiez chevalier
Qui alques feïst a preisier,
Qui armes e dras e atur
N'eüssent tut d'une culur.
D'une culur armes aveient
E d'une culur se vesteient;
S'i esteient dames prisiées
10790 D'une culur apareilliees
Ne jà chevalier n'i ëust
De quel parage que il fust,
Ja peüst, en tute sa vie,
Aveir bele dame à amie
Se il n'eüst avant esté [11]
De chevalerie pruvé
. . . . . .
10801 Quant li reis leva del mangier
Alé sunt tuit esbaneier;
De la cité as chans issirent.
As pluisurs gius se départirent:
Li un alerent bohorder
E lur isnels chevals pruver.
Li altre alerent escremir,
Ou piere jeter, ou salir.
Tels i aveit qui darz lancoënt
10810 E tels i aveit qui jetoënt.
Chascuns del geu s'entremeteient
Dunt entremetre se saveient.

*Laws of the game, ladies as spectators, etc.,* 10813-22

10823 Mult ot à la curt jugleürs
Chanteürs, estrumanteürs;
Mult poïssiez oïr chancuns,
Rotruënges e novels suns,
Viëleüres, lais, e notes,
Lais de viëles, lais de notes;
Lais de harpe e de fretels;
10830 Lyres, tymbres e chalemels,
Symphonies, psalteriüns,
Monacordes, cymbes, choruns,
Assez i ot tresgiteürs,
Juëresses e jueürs;
Li un dient cuntes e fables.
Alquant demandent dez e tables:
Tels i a juënt à hazart,
Ce est uns geus de male part.
As eschas juënt li plusur,
10840 Al geu del mat ou al meillur.

*Description of the games in progress,* 10841-66.

10867 Treis jurz dura la feste issi.
Quant vint al quart, al merceedi,
Li reis les dameisels fieva,
Honurs delivres lur duna.

*Enumeration of the gifts,* 10871-10900.

On turning to *Erec,* we find that shortly before Crestien brings Erec and Enide to Arthur's court to be married, he gives a list of knights of the Round Table then attendant upon the king. We may thus infer that they were present at the ceremony even though they are not mentioned in the formal list of guests. Therefore this catalogue passage may be properly connected with that describing the marriage.

*Erec* 1687 Mes d'auquanz des mellors barons
Vos sai je bien dire les nons,
De çaus de la Table Reonde,
Qui furent li mellor del monde.
Devant toz les buens chevaliers
Doit estre Gauvains li premiers,
. . . . . .
1706 Et Yvains, li fiz Uriien.
. . . . . .
1735 .. Beduiers, li conestables,

[11] Se il n' eüst iii. fois esté
De chevalerie esprouvé. MS du Roi, 7515 [33], Colb.

.....

1739 ..li fiz Keu, le seneschal,

*The Wedding*

1923 Li rois le don li otroia
Et par son reaume anvoia
Toz les rois et les contes querre,
Çaus qui de lui tenoient terre;
Que nul tant hardi n'i eüst
Qu'a la pantecoste ne fust.
N'i a nul qui remenoir ost,
Que a la cort ne vaingne tost,
Desque li rois les ot mandez.
Je vos dirai, or m'antandez!

*Catalogue of guests*

1970 Vint Aguisiaus, li rois d'Escoce,

.....

2012 Li rois Artus a la parsome,
Quant assanblé vit son barnage,
Mout an fu liez an son corage.
Aprés por la joie angreignier
Commanda çant vaslez beignier;
Que toz les viaut chevaliers feire.
N'i a nul qui n'et robe veire
De riche paile d'Alixandre
2020 Chascuns tel come il la vost prandre
A s'eslite et a sa devise.
Tuit orent armes d'une guise.

.....

2032 L'arcevesques de Cantorbire,
Qui a la cort venuz estoit,
Les beneï si come il doit.
Quant la corz fu tote assanblee,
N'ot menestrel an la contree,
Qui rien seüst de nul deduit,
Que a la cort ne fussent tuit.
An la sale mout grant joie ot,
2040 Chascuns servi de ce qu'il sot:
Cil saut, cil tume, cil anchante,
Li uns conte, li autre chante,
Li uns sifle, li autre note,
Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,
Cil de gigue, cil de viële,
Cil flaüte, cil chalemele.
Puceles carolent et dancent,
Trestuit de joie feire tancent.
N'est riens qui joie puisse feire
2050 Et cuer d'ome a leesce treire,
Qui ne fust as noces le jor.
Sonent timbre, sonent tabor,
Muses, estives et frestel,
Et buisines et chalemel.
Que diroie de l'autre chose?
N'i ot guichet ne porte close.
Les issues et les antrees
Furent totes abandonees;
N'an fu tornez povres ne riches.
2060 Li rois Artus ne fu pas chiches:
Bien comanda as panetiers
Et as queus et as botelliers
Qu'il livrassent a grant planté
A chascun a sa volanté
Et pain et vin et veneison.
Nus n'i demanda livreison
De rien nule, queus qu'ele fust,
Qu'a sa volante ne l'eüst.

*The wedding night,* 2069-2108

*Gifts for those assisting in the festivities,* 2109-18.

2119 Einsi les noces et la corz
Durerent pres de quinze jorz
A tel joie et a tel richesce.
Por seignorie et por hautesce,
Et por Erec plus enorer,
Fist li rois Artus demorer
Toz les barons une quinzainne.
Quant vint a la tierce semainne
Tuit ansanble comunement
Anpristrent un tornoiemant.

*The two days' tournament,* 2129-2278.

*The Coronation of Erec and Enide*

6546 Aprés li pria et dist
(Erec asks Arthur to crown him at his own court.)
Qu'il le coronast a sa cort.
Li rois li dist que tost s'atort;
Que corone seront andui,
Il et sa fame ansanble o lui,
A la natevité qui vient;
Et dist: "Aler vos en covient
De ci qu'a Nantes an Bretaingne;
La porteroiz real ansaingne,

Corone el chief e ceptre el poing;
Cest don et ceste enor vos doing."
.....
A la natevité ansanble
Li rois toz ses barons assanble,
Trestoz par un et les mande,
A Nantes venir les comande;
Toz les manda: nus n'i remaint.
*Those who go are not named here. Later, a few nationalities are mentioned.*
De mainte diverse contree
I ot contes et dus et rois,
Normanz, Bretons, Escoz, Irois;
D'Angleterre et de Cornoaille
I ot mout riche baronaille
Que des Gales jusqu' an Anjo,
Ne el Mainne ne an Peito
N'ot chevalier de grant afeire
Ne jantil dame de bon eire,
Que les mellors et les plus jantes
Ne fussent a la cort a Nantes,
Si con li rois les ot mandez.
*Arthur's generosity beggars that of Alexander the Great and of Caesar,* 6655-85.
*Preparation for the ceremony — description of Erec's coronation robe,* 6686-6810.
*Enide is led into the palace by Gawain and the king of Gavoie,* 6826 ff.
Quant eles vindrent el palés,
Contre eles vint a grant eslés
Li rois Artus, et par franchise
Lez Erec a Enide assise;
.....
Maintenant comande fors treire
Deus corones de son tresor,
Totes massices de fin or.
*Description of the crowns,* 6839-53.
L'une fist prandre a deus puceles,
Et l'autre a deus barons tenir.
Puis comanda avant venir
Les evesques et les prïeus
Et les abez religïeus,
Por enoindre le novel roi
Selonc la crestiiene loi.
Maintenant sont avant venu
Tuit li prelat, juene et chenu;
Car a la cort avoit assez
Venuz evesques et abez.
L'evesques de Nantes meïsmes,
Qui mout fu prodon et saintismes,
Fist le sacre del roi novel
Mout saintemant et bien et bel,
Et la corone el chief li mist.
Li rois Artus aporter fist
Un ceptre qui mout fu loez.
*Description of the sceptre,* 6871-83.
Si li mist, qui plus ne tarda,
Le roi Erec an sa main destre;
Or fu il rois si con dut estre.
Puis ra Enide coronee.
Ja estoit la messe sonee,
Si s'an vont a la mestre eglise
Oïr la messe et le servise;
A l'eveschié s'an vont orer.
*Joy of Enide's parents over the event,* 6892-97
Quant il vindrent a l'eveschié,
Ancontr'aus s'an ist tote fors
O reliques et o tressors
La processions del mostier.
Croiz et textes et ancansier
Et chasses atot les cors sainz,
Dont il ot an l'eglise mainz,
Lor fu a l'ancontre fors tret,
Ne de chanter n'i ot po fet.
Onques ansanble ne vit nus
Tant rois, tant contes ne tant dus
Ne tant barons a une messe,
Si fu granz la presse et espesse,
Que toz an fu li mostiers plains.
Onques n'i pot antrer vilains,
Se dames non et chevalier.
Defors la porte del mostier

An i remest ancor assez:
Tant an i avoit amassez,
Qui el mostier antrer ne porent.
Quant tote la messe oïe orent,
Si sont el palés retorné.
Ja fu tot fet et atorné,
Tables mises, a napes sus:
Cinc çanz tables i ot et plus;
Mes je ne vos vuel feire acroire
Chose, qui ne sanble estre voire.
Mançonge sanbleroit trop granz,
Se je disoie que cinc çanz
Tables fussent mises a tire
An un palés, ja nel quier dire;
Ainz an i ot cinc sales plainnes,
Si qui l'an pooit a granz painnes
Voie antre les tables avoir.
A chascune table por voir
Avoit ou roi ou duc ou conte,
E çant chevalier tot par conte
A chascune table seoient.
Mil chevalier de pain servoient,
Et mil de vin, et mil de mes,
Vestu d'ermins peliçons fres.
De mes divers sont tuit servi:
*When the guests depart, Arthur*
Mout lor doné largemant
Chevaus et armes et arjant,
Dras et pailes de mainte guise,
Por ce qu'il est de grant franchise
Et por Erec qu'il ama tant.

From these passages from the *Brut* and the *Erec* the table below has been made to show the details of agreement.[12]

1. The ceremony was performed at a royal residence.
   *B* 10461, Carlion
   *E-W* 28, Caradigan [13]
   *E-C* 6553, 6563, Nantes an Bretaingne
   *PC* (Matthew Paris)[14] London
2. It took place on a fête day.
   *B* 10458, Pentecost
   *E-W* 1928, Pentecost
   *E-C* 6551, 6559, 6584, Christmas Day
   *PC* (Matthew Paris) [15] Sept. 3, 1188
3. Summons of all the baronage and clergy of the realm.
   *B* 10461, 10497
   *E-W* 1924 ff.
   *E-C* 6560 ff.
   *PC* II, 1

[12] The abbreviations here used are: *B, Brut; E-W*, Erec-wedding; *E-C*, Erec-coronation; *PC*, prose chronicles. The last item is to be disregarded for the present.

[13] The story opens with the court at Caradigan, and except for the hunting expedition, sometime after the marriage, 3942 ff., there is no indication of a change until line 6584.

[14] Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, I, 643.

[15] Schultz, I, 643. This does not seem to be a special day. See, however, this study, p. 33 and note 25.

4. A list of the guests.
   *B* 19499 ff.
   *E-W* 1933 ff.
   *E-C* 6568 f., 6644 ff.
   *PC*
5. The summons is answered by all.
   *B* 10597 ff.
   *E-W* 1929 ff.
   *E-C* 6563
   *PC*
6. The ceremony is performed by the highest ecclesiastics in the realm.

| | |
|---|---|
| *B* 10637 ff., | Dubricius, archbishop of Canterbury |
| *E-W* 2032 | L'arcevesques de Cantorbire |
| *E-C* 6865 | L'evesques de Nantes |
| *PC* (Matthew Paris)[16] | The archbishop of Canterbury |

7. The order of exercises.
   a. The coronation takes place in the palace.
      *B* 10369
      *E-W* No indication that it was anywhere else.
      *E-C* 6831
      *PC*
   b. The prelate anoints the king with the sacred oil.
      *B*
      *E-W*
      *E-C* 6856 ff.
      *PC* III, 10
   c. The prelate places the crown on the king's head.
      *B* 10637 ff.
      *E-W* The couple are blessed by the archbishop, 2032 ff.
      *E-C* 6869
      *PC* III, 15
   d. The queen is crowned in the same manner as the king.
      *B* 10661 ff.
      *E-W*
      *E-C* 6887
      *PC* II, 10

[16] Schultz, I, 644. See also p. 30, item 15.

e. The procession goes to the church to hear mass.

1. The clergy and nobility, bearing the regalia, precede the king.

*B* 10645 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C* 6855 ff.
*PC* III, 1 ff.

2. The king is supported by a prelate on either side.

*B* 10641 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C*
*PC* III, 7

3. They hear mass at the church.

*B* 10695 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C* 6888 ff.
*PC* III, 17

4. The throngs at the church are very great.

*B* 10695 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C* 6907 ff.
*PC*

8. After mass they return to the palace for the banquet.

*B* 10715
*E-W* 2060 ff. There is no returning, but there is a feast.
*E-C* 6918 ff.
*PC* III, 18 f.

a. The king removes his heavy ceremonial crown for a lighter one, before going to the feast.

*B* 10718 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C*
*PC* III, 19

b. The guests are seated according to rank.

*B* 10737
*E-W*
*E-C* 6032 ff. Rank not clearly indicated.
*PC* III, 19

c. They are waited upon by the high barons of the realm.
*B* 10741 ff.
*E-W*
*E-C* 6936 f.
*PC* II, 8 f.

d. Those who serve are dressed in ermine.
*B* 10744 f.
*E-W*
*E-C* 6936 ff.
*PC*

e. The knights of Arthur's court wear their arms all of the same fashion.
*B* 10783
*E-W* 2022
*E-C*
*PC*

9. Diversions of various kinds follow the banquet.
*B* 10801 ff.
*E-W* 2035 ff. The games seem to precede the feast, but the time order is not clearly indicated.
*E-C*
*PC*

After a survey of this table it requires little effort to see the apparent imitation of the *Brut* by the author of *Erec*. But here the question naturally arises: has Crestien for these descriptions borrowed from a written source, or is he simply reflecting the customs of the day? This leads us to examination of documents describing the marriage and coronation ceremonies of the twelfth century.

1. Marriage ceremonies.

Schultz (*op. cit.*, 624) says that from the eighth century the church began to insist upon the religious element in marriage functions, that they should be performed by a priest. Frequently, marriage had taken place with almost no ceremony and without an ecclesiastic [17] (Schultz I, 621). He cites in confirmation the Sermo Synodalis, 1009 (Hartzheim III, 3): "Omnibus annunciate, ut nullus uxorem accipiat nisi publice celebratis nuptiis." The cele-

[17] Cp. *Perceval* (Baist) 2523 ff.

bration was often on the most magnificent scale. In 1243 when Count Richard of Poitiers, the brother of Henry III of England, married in London the daughter of Count Raymond of Provence, there were prepared for the guests 30,000 plates (Schultz I, 626): "in coquinali ministerio plura quam triginta millia ferculorum prandentibus parabantur."

In the year 1252 when at York Henry III of England married his daughter to the king of Scotland, the archbishop sent as a present 60 oxen, and these furnished but a single course: "ex dono archiepiscopi in ipso convivio plusquam sexaginta boves pascuales unum ferculum primitivum in generale perfecerunt." (Schultz I, 626).

Not only were guests invited from all parts of the country, but all sorts of persons were asked to assist in the entertainment. Matthew Paris, describing the wedding of Henry III of England, says: "Convenerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiarum tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas tanta histrionum varietas, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet." (Schultz I, 627).

It was the custom in France for the bridal bed to be blessed by the priest. *Aye d'Avignon*, p. 127: "Quant vint a l'avespré qui fu aprés souper et on fet dame Aye en sa chambre mener, lui et le roi Ganor.....L'evesque va l'estole à son col afubler; lor lit vint benéir le soir aprés souper. Puis on fet la chambre vidier por reposer." *Durmars* 15155: "Li evesques de Limeri senga lor lit et beni." *Blonde of Oxford* 4771: "Li prestre beneï leur lit." *Cf. Berthe* p. 19, 23; *Cligès* 3330; *Claris* 29659; *Le Fraisne* 416 (Schultz I, 632, n. 7). See also *Perceval* (Potvin, VI, 206).[18]

Usually the court ladies, friends of the bride, accompanied her to the chamber and prepared her for bed. (Schultz I, 633).

It was customary for the host to give many and valuable presents: "Et post prandium transmissit dominus rex Angliae magnatibus ad hospitia sua Francigensis nobiles cuppas argehteas, firmacula aurea, cingula servica et alia et alia donativa, prout decuit talem regem dare et tales primates gratanter recipere." (Matthew

[18] The above are not political documents, but for accounts of purely social events they are often the only source of information. *See* Critchlow, F. L., *On the forms of betrothal and wedding ceremonies in the old Roman d'Adventure*, Baltimore, 1903. Not consulted.

Paris—Schultz I, 637). This occasion was when Henry III of England visited Louis IX of France in 1254.

These citations point to contemporary life as a possible foundation for a number of incidents in the *Erec* marriage ceremony: the presence of the archbishop,[19] and his officiation, Enide's being crowned presumably in the same manner as Erec, the elegance of the feast, the character of the amusements, the presence of the prelates in the bedchamber, the queen's preparing Enide for bed, and the rich gifts bestowed by Arthur on guests and on those furnishing the entertainment. Hence Crestien's description may have been derived in some measure from his knowledge of the customs of his day.

2. The coronation ceremony.

The material examined for accounts of coronations is as follows: I, The *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France par les Religieux Benedictins de la Congrégation de St. Maur,* IX, for the years 877-991, describing the coronation of Louis le Bégue of France; II, Williston Walker, *The Increase of Royal Power in France under Philip Augustus,* 1179-1223, Leipzig, 1888, describing the two coronations of Philip Augustus, accounts based on Benedict of Peterborough (1169-1192), Roger of Hovenden (1170-1192), The *Recueil,* etc.; III, Benedict of Peterborough, confirmed by Matthew Paris reporting the coronation of Richard I of England. The excerpts from these documents are entitled "*PC* I, II, III," respectively in the table on pp. 23 ff. These particular accounts have been chosen because they show that in the space of 300 years the order of exercises has remained practically the same, and hence must have been pretty generally known to persons within reach of such functions. By again referring to the table and including in the comparison the items lettered *PC,* we shall see that both Wace's and Crestien's descriptions bear a strong resemblance to the historical accounts. Benedict of Peterborough's narrative has been selected for the table because it is the fullest, but occasionally an omission has been supplied from another historian as indicated.

[19] *E* 2071 ff. These lines are not set down in the table because they refer distinctly to the wedding.

I. From the *Recueil* IX, 300.

The coronation of King Ludovicus performed by the Archbishop Hincmaro in the year 877.

The order of exercises.

1. Petitio Episcoporum.
2. Promissio Regis.
3. Benedictiones super Hludowicum Regem factae.
4. Sacri olei infusio.
5. Impositio coronae.
6. Septri traditio.
7. Benedictiones.

II. W. Walker, the coronation of Philip Augustus, *op. cit.*, 9 f.

1. Summons of the nobles of the realm to be present at the crowning.
2. The time—All Saints' Day, Nov. 1, 1179.
3. The usage of the Capetian house was followed in that the crowning was in the hands of the primate at Rheims.
4. The ceremony was performed in the usual fashion, by anointment with the sacred oil, and the imposition of the crown.
5. A brilliant assembly of nobles. Prominent were Henry, son of Henry II of England; and Philip, Count of Flanders.
6. Henry bore the crown to be placed on the king's head.
7. Philip of Flanders carried the sword before the monarch.
8. Philip possibly fulfilled the office of seneschal at the banquet.
9. Other nobles whose names have not been recorded did the lesser services of the festal day.
10. The second coronation occurred after the marriage of Philip to Elizabeth of Hainault (1180). At this coronation the same ceremony was performed upon the queen as upon the king. Walker, *op. cit.*, 13.

III. Benedict of Peterborough, *The Chronicle*[20] *of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I,* 1169-1192, p. 80.

[20] Commonly known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, ed. from the Cotton MSS by Wm. Stubbs, II, London, 1867. Also, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis,* Master of the Rolls Series.

1. Procession of the clergy.
2. Two persons follow, bearing the cap and spurs.
3. Two earls with scepter and rod.
4. Three earls with swords.
5. Six counts and barons with the regalia.
6. Two bearing the crown.
7. Richard, under a canopy, supported on either side by a bishop.
8. Richard makes three oaths.
9. He is undressed and shod.
10. He is anointed.
11. He is dressed in consecrated garments.
12. The sword is delivered to him.
13. The spurs and mantle are put upon him.
14. The adjuration at the altar.
15. The coronation by the bishop.
16. He is conducted to the throne and seated between the bishops who led him in procession.
17. He hears mass.
18. He returns to his chamber.
19. The banquet.

    Interim rex deposuit coronam suam et vestes regales et leviores coronam et vestes sumpsit: et sic coronatus venit prandere. Et archiepiscopi et episcopi, et abbates, et alii clerici sedebant cum eo in mensa sua, unusquisque secundum ordinum et dignitatem suam. Comites vero et barones et milites sedebant ad alias mensas et epulabantur splendide.

After a consideration of these passages, *B*, *E-W*, *E-C*, and *PC*, it is obvious that Crestien is indebted for his ceremonies neither to Wace alone nor to social customs alone, but probably to both. The features he may have borrowed from the *Brut* are:

1. The names of certain guests.
2. The practice by Arthurian knights of wearing their arms all of one fashion.

3. Having the coronation held in the palace, followed by a procession to the church to hear mass, instead of the usual form of having both the coronation and the mass performed in the church.[21]
4. The three thousand nobles clad in ermine who waited at the royal banquet.

Now, to discuss these points in detail. In the catalogue of knights above mentioned (p. 21) there occur the names Gawain, Yvain the son of Urien, Kay the Seneschal, and Bedver the Butler. Gawain (see pp. 110 ff.) may already have attained sufficient distinction to merit a mention here independent of chronicle influence, but Yvain the son of Urien probably owes his reputation to Wace. Geoffrey mentions Yvain but once, and briefly.[22] Wace adds him to Geoffrey's list of coronation guests, and calls him *li cortois* (10522). Later, in the passage parallel to that in the *HRB*, Wace enlarges upon Geoffrey's statement (13595). It is significant that Kay and Bedver, Kay always first, are almost invariably mentioned together in the *Brut*.[23] Bedver's name does not occur in any other of Crestien's romances. Among the wedding guests is Auguisiaus, king of Scotland (1970). He also is a coronation guest in the *Brut* (10519), is later a prominent figure in the war with Rome (11236, 11431, 12762), and his death, together with that of Gawain, causes Arthur much sorrow [23a] (13550). This instance, too, marks the only occurrence of the name in Crestien's works. The similarity of phrasing in the two passages may also be noted: *B* 10519, *D'Escoce i vint reis Aguisel; E* 1970, *Vint Aguisiaus, li rois d'Escoce.* (See p. 79). Therefore, the mention of the names Yvain, Kay, Bedver, and Aguisel would seem to indicate that Crestien had these lines of Wace in mind when he wrote of the marriage of Erec.

The Arthurian practice of wearing arms all of one fashion seems to have originated with Geoffrey (IX, xiii). Wace follows his

[21] Gervaise of Canterbury (Schultz, I, 645) states that Richard's second coronation, April 17, 1194, took place in the palace, and that afterwards he went to the church for mass, but as far as I have discovered, this does not seem to be the usual custom. So for the present I regard this feature in Crestien's account as a borrowing from Wace.

[22] *See* p. 99 and *HRB* XI, i.

[23] *B* II, pp. 92, 101, 107, 146, 152, 192, 201, 203, 218. Bedver is mentioned separately seven times and Kay, not at all. See pp. 95 ff. of this study.

[23a] *See* p. 112.

original, as usual elaborating the idea somewhat (10783), and is probably responsible for Crestien's use of it in *Erec*.

An examination of historical documents shows that coronations were usually performed in the church and not in the palace. Crestien seems to have followed Wace in having the ceremony performed in the palace, and in taking the assembly to the church afterwards to hear mass.

Both Wace and Crestien have groups of noble persons to wait at the royal banquet. In the *Brut* they are *damoisiaus* (10744); in *Erec* they are *chevalier* (6936). With Wace, Kay and Bedver have 1000 each: one group to serve the meats, the other to pour the wines. Crestien has three groups of 1000 each: one to serve bread, the other meats, and the third, wines. This great retinue was clad in ermine. The texts do not say that their garments were trimmed with the fur, but that the attendants were *vestu d'ermine B* 10745, *E* 6938). Ermine, together with Russian sable, was the costliest fur in use in the Middle Ages.[24] It was employed extensively for trimming, but never except for royalty was it commonly used for a whole garment; nor is it likely that several thousand persons serving at a banquet, even were they of rank, would be so expensively clad. Crestien was doubtlessly following his literary source here, rather than describing what was actually the custom.

The one feature of Erec's coronation that does not seem to be taken from Wace is significant: the anointing of the king. Wace says simply that the archbishops and bishops crowned the king (10639). In the actual coronation the anointing was one of the important parts of the ceremony and is mentioned in every document consulted. Hence Crestien's use of this detail seems to point to his knowledge of contemporary usage. It is quite possible, however, that Wace did not omit this detail, but that its absence at present is due to a defective text.

As for the other points, it appears that both Wace and Crestien were probably writing from their own knowledge, direct or indirect, of contemporary life. Items 1, 3, 5, and 6, of the table (p. 23 ff.) need no discussion. 2. It was customary to hold such events

[24] Schultz, I, 357. *Perceval* (Baist) 1777.

on a fête day.[25] 4. A catalogue of names is a convention found everywhere in chronicles, epics, and romances. 7 *a, c, d, e,* 8 *a, b, c,* and 9 are conventional incidents of the ceremony.[26] Schultz (I, 551) describes nearly all of the musical instruments mentioned by Wace and Crestien, and shows cuts of several.

The acrobatic feats are those in fashion in that day, and the other diversions such as combats, juggling, singing, dancing, and the telling of tales were amusements common to every court. The giving of gifts by the host on the occasion of a great festivity both to guests and to those furnishing the talent was very common, as generosity, *largesce,* was considered one of the cardinal virtues.[27]

It is interesting to note that for at least two picturesque details Wace seems to have drawn upon the customs of the times. He says that the king was supported in procession by a prelate on either side (10641), and that after mass the king exchanged his heavy, ceremonial crown for a smaller and lighter one before going to dine (10715). These details are mentioned by all three of the chroniclers who describe the coronation of Richard I of England (Schultz, I, 643).

These documents have been quoted not so much to show that Wace and Crestien may have had access to like material, as to point out the character of the marriage and coronation ceremonies of the Middle Ages, and hence, to emphasize the fact that Crestien and his original are here reflecting in great measure, contemporary life. Indeed, in a discussion of Crestien's sources, realism is an element constantly to be reckoned with. Romancer though he is, his love of specific detail often leads him, perhaps unconsciously, to throw light on the manners and customs of his day. This habit is evident, as we have seen, in the account of the marriage. A realistic feature worthy of note in the coronation passage is the

[25] Charlemagne crowned emperor, Christmas day, 800.
William the Conqueror crowned king of England Christmas day, 1066.
Stephen crowned on St. Stephen's day, 1135.
John crowned on Ascension day, 1199.
Philip Augustus crowned king of France, All Saint's day, 1179.

[26] 7 *b,* and 8 *d* and *e* have already been disposed of (p. 31 f.) Cp. Bédier, *op. cit.* I, p. 278, v. 430 ff. This whole passage, the marriage of Tristan and Ysolt as Blanches Mains, though meager, might be compared to the *Erec* wedding passage.

[27] For the *largesce* of Marie de Champagne, *see* Jenkins, T. A., *Eructavit,* Dresden, 1909 (Gesellsch. f. Rom. Lit., Bd. 20), p. VIII, and vv. 9 f. For that of Henry II of England, *see* p. 11 of this study. *See also* Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises,* Paris, 1878-82, II, 128 ff.

elaborate description of Erec's robe, embroidered with the symbols of the quadrivium (6736 ff.). The idea of introducing such a picture may have originated in the portrayal of the chariot of Amphiaras in the *Roman de Thèbes* (ed., Constans, Paris, 1900, I, p. 230, vv. 4711 ff.), but the substance may also reflect the poet's scholastic education.[28]

### *Cligès*

In *Cligès* with its literary origin,[29] we may expect to find a closer adherence to source books than in *Erec* with its Celtic otherworld coloring. Wace's *Brut* seems to have been used here, not as the basis of one or two episodes, as in *Erec*, but as the source of one of the two principal actions composing the first part of the romance, namely: the love story of Alexander and Soredamors, and the treachery of Count Angrès. The two threads are connected in the fact that the rebellion is introduced technically for the purpose of allowing Alexander to win his spurs and thus become worthy of the hand of Soredamors. The story of Angrès's treason finds a close parallel in that of Modred toward Arthur in the *Brut*.[30] According to Crestien, not long after Alexander arrives at Arthur's court the king decides to visit Brittany, committing his island kingdom to his trusted vassal, Angrès of Windsor.

422 Li roi Artus an cel termine
S'an vost an Bretaingne passer.
Toz ses barons fet amasser,
Por consoil querre et demander,
A cui il porra comander
Angleterre tant qu'il revaingne,
Qui la gart an pes et maintaingne.

A similar act is performed by the Arthur of the *Brut*, when on the eve of his departure for the war with Rome he intrusts his realm to Modred.

[28] *See* p. 12, n. 38.

[29] *See* p. 17 and n. 7.

[30] After working out the parallels in the *Brut* and the *Cligès* passages I discovered in a dissertation by R. Thedens, *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees in seinem Verhältnis zu seinen Quellen, insbesondere zu den Romanen Crestiens von Troyes*, Göttingen, 1908, 126 ff., that the principal points of agreement had been cited in a supplement. But as Thedens has merely tabulated the passages without discussion, and has, in fact, omitted some features, not only in the passage in question, but in other places in *Cligès* where there may have been borrowings from the *Brut*, it seems necessary that the whole subject be given careful investigation.

11452 A Modret, un de ses nevuz,
Chevalier mervillus e pruz,
Livra en garde Artur sun regne,
E dame Genievre sa fenne.
Modrez esteit de grant·noblei,
Mais n'aveit mie bonne fei;

Geoffrey says merely: Comperto igitur adventu ipsorum Arturus, Modredo nepoti suo ad conservandum Britanniam, atque Guanhumarae reginae committens, cum exercitu suo portum Hamonis adivit. X, ii.

He gives no hint of the man's perfidy. Wace differentiates him at once: Modred is *mervillus e pruz, de grant noblei, mais n'aveit mie bonne fei.* Thus we are immediately prepared for the treachery that subsequently comes to light. Crestien says at this point:

429 Par le consoil a toz ansanble
Fu comandee, ce me sanble,
Au conte Angrès de Guinesores;
Car il ne cuidoient ancores
Qu'il eüst baron plus de foi
An tote la terre le roi.

Obviously, Angrès [31] is Modred. Like Wace, Crestien at once identifies the man: *Car il ne cuidoient ancores qu'il eüst baron plus de foi. Ancores* is the keyword here. Crestien understood the value of suspense, a device apparently unappreciated by Wace,

[31] Crestien's use of the name, *Angrès,* is confined to this one romance. In the compound, *Kanelangrès,* it occurs in the *Tristan* of Thomas, (Bédier, I, 2) "Son nom etait Rivalin, son surnon *Kanelangrès.*" Professor Bédier adds in a note (2): "Le sornom Kanelangrès reste mystérieux, malgré plusieurs tentatives d'interprétation. La forme Kanelangrès (cf. Angrès dans *Cligès*) semble attesté par la rime *Kanelangrès: des,* chez, Gottfried [de Strasbourg] v. 321-2." *Kanel,* Zimmer (*Rom.* XXVII, 1898, 610) explains as the place whence Rivalin is supposed to have come, and he connects it with Carlisle,—Kanouel, Karduel, Carlisle; but this does not explain *Angrès.* (See also Golther, *Tristan und Isolde*....Leipzig, 1907, 143). It occurs to me that the name *Angrès* may possibly be explained as an adjective used substantively, for the meaning of the term is quite appropriate to the character of this person. Godefroi lists among others, the foll. meanings for this word: "1. Avec un nom de personne....*fâcheux, importun, gênant, difficile, acharné, entêté, opiniâtre, ardant, courroucé, violent.* 2. *Engres* est quelquesfois pris dans un sens tout à fait défavorable, et signifie *méchant, cruel, scelérat, impie.* 3. Noms propres: *Langres-eis,-ais, Lengrais.*" Unfortunately, G. gives no examples under this last heading. It is clear that the epithets above listed, while appropriate to Count Angrès, are not at all suited to Kanelangrès. If Crestien's use of the name is not dependent upon Thomas, and it is not necessary that it should be, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the Angrès of *Cligès* is a proper name derived from an adjective. In *Yvain, angrès* is used as an attribute of persons; 838, 1092.

in this instance, else he would not at the outset have uncovered his villain so boldly with his *mais il n'aveit mie bonne fei.*

In the *Brut,* Modred is *pruz e mervillos.* The *Brut MS du Roi* 7515 [3.3.] *Colbert* renders vv. 11453 f. by: *Artus sa terre commanda Un chevalier qu'il mult ama.* Angrès is chosen regent *par le consoil a toz ansamble.* Thus the parallel is continued in the fact that both Modred and Angrès have the confidence of their king.

A departure from the chronicle is now made by Crestien in regard to the queen's part in the affair. Wace not only says that Arthur left the kingdom in charge of both Guinevere and Modred, but emphasizes at length the fact that part of the regent's treachery lay in his conduct with her, (11452-11469). In *Cligès,* according to the demands of the story, the queen accompanies Arthur to Brittany. Crestien selects his material with care: Alexander is the hero of this part of the story, and the queen is necessary in order to bring the hero and heroine together. Furthermore, it is in this affair with Angrès that Alexander wins his reputation. The prowess of Alexander must be the theme, a theme to which the rebellion of Angrès must be in a measure subordinated. Finally, Crestien is, in *Cligès,* exploiting the idea of honorable love, in contrast to that of the *Tristan* story. Thus it is highly important that the queen should be presented as irreproachable, since she brings about the union of the hero's parents.[32]

In *Cligès,* nothing of historical import occurs during Arthur's sojourn in Brittany; Crestien is busied during this interval with the tribulations and transports of the lovers. Then comes the news of Angrès's disaffection, the account of which occupies practically all the rest of the Alexander romance. Wace's story of Modred's perfidy runs thus:

13419 En esté volt Munt Giu passer
E a Rome quida aler;
Mais Mordrez l'en a retorné,
Oiéz quel hunte e quel vilté:
Ses niés, filz sa sorur esteit
E en garde Bretaigne aveit;
Tut sun regné li ot livré,
A garde li ot commandé,

[32] *See* van Hamel, *Rom.* XXXIII, 465; *C,* 3rd ed. XXXIX, and this study, 61, 100 ff.

E Mordrez li volt tut tolir,
Asséz le deüst mieuz servir,
De tuz les humes prist umages,
E de tuz les chastels ostages.
Après ceste grant felonie
Fist encor forçur vilenie,
Que cuntre chrestiane lei
Prist a sei la feme le rei;
Feme sun uncle, sun seignur
Prist a feme, s'in fist s'oissur.

Wace goes on to relate (13437 ff.) how Arthur, leaving Hoel to restore peace in France and Burgundy, hurries back to Britain, accompanied by the kings of the islands, to wreak vengeance upon the traitor. Modred, reinforced by 700 ship-loads of Saxons, meets Arthur on his landing at Romenel [33] (13485). In the battle that follows, Gawain, the king's nephew, and Aguisel, king of Scotland, are slain (13506 ff.). Arthur follows the traitor to Winchester (13559), drives him out, and causes him to flee into Cornwall (13593). Guinevere, hearing of Modred's fate, flees to Carlion where she shuts herself up in a convent, never to be heard of more [34] (13628). Pursued into Cornwall, the traitor is overtaken at Camblan [35] where the battle begins with great fury. Here Modred and the king fall, together with many of Arthur's choicest knights (13672), and Arthur, having received a mortal stroke, is carried to Avalon to be healed of his wounds (13681 ff.).

Crestien's narrative is as follows: While Arthur and his court are in Brittany word comes that Angrès has broken faith:

1062 Et s'avoit ja grant ost mandee
De sa jant et de ses amis,
Si s'estoit dedanz Londres mis
Por la cité contretenir,
Quel ore qu'il deüst venir.

[33] Romney, near the present New Romney on the coast of Kent. Geoffrey says *Rutupi* (Richborough), also in Kent, about 12 miles north of Dover.

[34] Contrast Geoffrey and Wace in their portrayal of Guinevere all through this episode. G. observes her from the ecclesiastical point of view and sits in judgment upon her; W., imbued with the ideas of chivalry, treats her as one to be pitied rather than condemned, laying the blame on Modred rather than on her. *HRB* X, xiii; XI, i; *B* 13421 ff. *See* p. 8 of this study.

[35] *See Annales Cambriae,* "537, Battle of Camblann in which Arthur and Medraut fell." *See also,* p. 3, n. 15, of this study.

Arthur, troubled and angered, blames his barons for choosing such a regent as Angrès who is worse than Ganelon (1076), and commanding every able-bodied man in Brittany to follow him, sets sail for England. Crestien indulges in some epic glorification as to the size of Arthur's fleet, a matter on which the chronicle is silent (*C* 1096 ff.).

The king's army lands and encamps on the shore; the port is not mentioned. Later, they move on to London (1211). No battle occurs at the port, as in the *Brut,* but the effect upon the usurper is the same in both accounts: Modred, having lost the battle, deserted by his men, refused admittance to London, *s'enfui tute nuit* (13537); and Angrès, with Arthur returned, the majority of the people loyal to the king, his own force held together only by bribes and promises, and he, himself, hated by many, apparently fears to risk a battle and, like Modred, flees *par nuit* (1218). That they both escape by night may not be significant, since that was the usual time for flight. Modred fled from Romney, Angrès, from London. Crestien may have chosen London, partly because of its prominence; partly because Wace speaks of London as a place where Modred would have taken refuge had he been admitted.

Before Angrès left London he took with him

1223 De vitaille, d'or et arjant,
Si departi tot a sa jant.

and word is brought to Arthur that Angrès

1228 ..tant avoit de vitaille
Et d'avoir pris an la cité,
Qu'apovri et deserté
Sont li borjois et confondu.

The *Brut* does not offer quite so close a parallel here, but Modred's behavior at Winchester when he took *feautez, ostages, e seurtez* (13545 f.) from the citizens at least shows tyrannical treatment and may have furnished Crestien with his idea.

Angrès, unable to get a foothold elsewhere, retreats to his own domain, Windsor, where Arthur besieges him and forces a battle, just as the Arthur of the *Brut* compels Modred to take issue with

him at Winchester[36] (13561). The behavior of the traitors when each sees himself surrounded by the royal army is much the same:

*B* 13563 Mais quant Mordrez esgarda l'ost
Qui la cité envirun clost,
Semblant fist que se cumbatreit,
E que cumbatre se voleit;
Car se lungement ert assis
N'en partireit qu'il ne fust pris;
Il sot bien s'Artus le teneit
Que ja vis n'en eschapereit.
Tuz ses humes fist asambler
E tut isnelement armer,
Par cunreis les fist establir
E a cumbatre fors issir.

We observe here (1) that Arthur will never leave the stronghold until he has taken it; (2) Modred knows that he may expect no mercy if he falls into the king's hands; (3) both besieged forces plan to sally forth and make a sudden attack upon the enemy,—all, ideas that find an echo in the passage from *Cligès:*

1504 Li cuens Angrès est mout marriz,
Quant anviron son chastel voit
Traïner çaus que chiers avoit.
Et li autre mout s'an esmaient,
Mes por esmai que il an aient
N'ont nul talent que il se randent.
Mestiers lor est qu'il se deffandent;
Car bien mostre li rois a toz
Son mautalant et son corroz,
Et bien voient, s'il tes tenoit,
Qu'a honte morir les feroit.

A little later:

1648 Li traïtor sont a consoil,
Qu'il porront feire et devenir.
Lonc tans porront contretenir
Le chastel, c'est chose certaine,

[36] It may be noted that Crestien mentions Winchester twice in this part of the romance, not, however, in connection with this particular episode (291, 302). In no other poem does Crestien locate Arthur at Winchester. The geography of *Cligès* is decidedly historical. *See* p. 124, n. 26; pp. 125, 129.

Se au deffandre metent painne;
Mes tant sevent de fier corage
Le roi, qu'an trestot son aage
Tant qu'il l'et pris n'an tornera;
Adonc morir les convendra.
Et se il le chastel li randent,
Por ce nule merci n'atandent.

Then the besieged decide:

1664 Que demain ainz que jors apeire
Istront del chastel a celee,
Si troveront l'ost desarmee.

Though the conventionality of war plays some part in these accounts, Crestien's lines are reminiscent of the *Brut* passage. Perhaps the least conventional detail is Arthur's reputation for sticking at a thing until he has accomplished it. This is a trait possessed by Uther, Arthur's father, a characteristic well known to the older king's enemies:

*B* 8625 Quar bien saveit, e veirs esteit,
Que de quanque il enprandreit
A bon chief vendreit a la fin.

Crestien may have known this passage but as a matter of fact, Wace's description of Arthur's pertinacity would of itself have furnished him a basis for his lines.

Another incident in the war with Angrès finds a parallel in the *Brut:* Alexander's maiden exploit under the walls of Windsor. Just after Arthur's army has reached Windsor, the Greek prince, watching with eager eyes some of the enemy idly tilting on the farther bank of the Thames, calls his followers about him and addresses them thus:

1290 "Seignor," fet il, "talanz m'est pris,
Que de l'escu et de la lance
Aille a çaus feire une acointance,
Qui devant nos behorder vienent.
Bien voi que por mauvés nos tienent
Et po nos prisent, ce m'est vis,
Quant behorder devant noz vis
Sont ci venu tuit desarmé.
De novel somes adobé:
Ancor n'avomes fet estrainne

A chevalier ne a quintainne.
Trop avons noz lances premiers
Longuemant gardees antieres.
Nostre escu por quoi furent fet?
Ancor ne sont troé ne fret.
C'est uns avoirs qui rien ne vaut,
S'an estor non ou an assaut,
Passons le gué, ses assaillons!''
Tuit diënt: ''Ne vos an faillons.''

In the *Brut* on the eve of the war with Rome, Arthur sends legates to the Roman camp: among them is Gawain with a band of brave companions. As they go, the youths urge Gawain to pick a quarrel with the foe that they may have a chance to distinguish themselves:

12074 Li messagier s'en returnèrent;
Sur lur meillurs chevals muntèrent,
Escuz saisiz, helmes laciéz,
Haubers vestuz e pris espiéz.
Dunt veïssiez maint chevalier
Et maint vallet pru e legier
Qui a Gauvain vunt cunseillant
E a cunseil li vunt mustrant,
Que la ou il va a la curt,
Face tel chose, ainz qu'il s'en turt,
Que la guerre seit cumenciee
Qui tant a esté manaciee:
Turné sereit a malvaistié
Quant il tant se sunt apruchié
S'aucune cause n'en feïssent,
E cil dient que si ferunt,
La bataille cumencerunt.

In both cases the youths are to provoke the enemy and precipitate the battle; in both companies there is shown the same daredevil impatience to win renown, to bring on the battle maugre the consequences; both parties carry out their plans, and start the conflict. Alexander and his friends leap the ford, and are upon the nonchalant tilters before they can protect themselves, and the Greeks take back to camp four prisoners (1317 ff.). Gawain, on reaching the Roman camp, offers defiance to the emperor (12116 ff.)

and then slays the emperor's nephew, Quintilian, who took offence at his insults (12148 ff.). The angered Romans fly to arms, and a great battle ensues, into which, when Arthur hears the report, he sends reinforcements. Finally, the foes are driven back and the British heroes return with their prisoners (12480). Another connection between the episodes lies in the relationship existing between the chief actors. Gawain is Arthur's sister's son; Alexander who marries Gawain's sister, may here be emulating his brother-in-law.[37] Lastly, Arthur, both in *Cligès* and in the *Brut* shows his approval of the exploit in substantial rewards. (*C* 1452 ff.; *B* 12481 ff.)

There is some conventionality about these episodes, to be sure, but it is not so much the conventionality of mere war as of chivalry, of romance. The romantic spirit of the *Brut* can not be insisted upon too strongly. As it was shown in the introduction (pp. 6 ff.) is shown here, and will be constantly pointed out, Wace's *Brut,* especially in the Arthurian portion is the forerunner of chivalric romance. Hence Gawain's exploit offers a model for such affairs as that of Alexander, and later, for that of Cligès where he attacks the Duke of Saxony's men in the Black Forest (5408 ff.), and for that kind of combat generally to which a poet resorts when he wants to distinguish his hero in a company already distinguished. Thus Crestien may be indebted to Wace for the romantic conception of the incident. (See p. 145 f.).

The other episodes to be discussed fall in the Cligès part of the story. The first is the four days' tournament held on the plains of Oxford, in which Cligès wins his great name, appearing each day in armor of a different color, unhorsing Sagremors, Lancelot, Perceval, and meeting his match only in Gawain. (4585 ff.). What is the source of this incident?

Miss Weston, in her monograph entitled *The Three Days' Tournament,*[38] has shown that a combat of three days' duration, in each engagement of which, the hero in order to win the hand of a lady, appears in arms of a different color and is successful over his opponent, is a story widely current in folk literature from Greece to Great Britain.[39] On this basis she argues that in the

[37] *B* 9872 ff.; *C* 467, 2361 ff.

[38] London, 1902. *See also* Carter, C. H., *Haverford Essays,* Haverford, Pa., 1909, pp. 237 ff. Not consulted. *Cp.* Bruce, *op. cit.,* VIII, n. 2.

[39] G. Paris also pointed out the wide distribution of the Theme, *JdS,* 1902, 449, n. 1.

*Cligés* tournament Crestien was not dealing directly with tradition, but taking the story second-hand after it had already been worked over into romance form (42); moreover since the contest lasts four days instead of the customary three, *Cligès* contains but a muddled version of the folk tournament, and is therefore debarred at once from the claim [40] of having introduced the episode into romance.[41]

No one can deny, in the face of the evidence brought together by Miss Weston, that the Three Days' Tournament is a widespread folk-tale, but whether Crestien used this folk-tale, is another matter. It is possible that both of the features upon which Miss Weston insists: disguise in particular colors (black or green, white, and red) and a tournament of invariably three days' duration may have sprung up independently of each other and of folk tradition. Disguise in strange arms, as Professor Nitze has pointed out in his review [42] of Miss Weston's book, is a common device in mediaeval romance when a knight for some reason or other wishes to ride on a quest or in a tourney incognito. He cites several cases:

*Perceval le Gallois* (*Perlesvaus*) I, 235, where Gawain is victor in a Three Days' Tournament in which he appears successively in red armor, in his own, and in gold armor, the *Charrete,* 5515 ff., where Lancelot, disguised in red arms, the first day obeys the queen's request to *faire au noauz,* and on the second, redeems his reputation. He mentions also the *Ipomédon,* the prose *Lancelot,* and the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven.[43]

Professor Nitze suggests the query that as green, red, and black knights abound in mediaeval tales, what is more natural than that some one poet should have brought these individual colors together to effect a series of disguises for his hero. This process could have been the starting point for disguise in colors,—

[40] Cp. G. Paris, *JdS,* 1902, 449 and Foerster, *L,* XLIII, CXXVI who think that *Cligès* is the first romance to deal with the theme. F. thinks it C.'s invention; P., that he had a source for it.

[41] *Op. cit.,* 14, 37. Miss Weston gives this priority to the Ur-Lancelot, 32.

[42] *MLN* XVIII, 155 ff.

[43] Miss Weston also notes these, 35, 38. Paris, *JdS,* 1902, 449, n. 1, cites *Ipomédon* and the prose *Lancelot, Sir Gowther, Richard Coeur de Lion, Sone de Nansai.* To these may be added the *Chevalier du Papegaut* (ed., Heuckencamp, Halle, 1896, 29, ll. 30 ff. where the hero, as in the *Charrete,* complies with the Fairy Mistress's request to *faire au noauz* the first day, and recovers his former prestige on the second.

invention based on literary material. The device need not have originated in the folk-tale. The literary version may have attracted to it the particular colors of the folk-tale, but the mere idea of a succession of colors need not have been folkloristic.[44]

Again, the idea of a Three Days' Tournament is not confined to folk-tale and romance. Both Geoffrey and Wace speak of Arthur's coronation celebration as lasting three days (*HRB* IX, xiv; *B* 10802); that is, both state that the games, including the jousts, began directly after the banquet held on the day of the coronation, and that on the fourth day the king exhibited his largess towards the victors. Further, both historians say that a tournament of three days' duration was actually a custom of the Arthurian court (*HRB* IX, xiii); Facetae etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo castrae mulieres, et milites amore illarum meliores.

Wace says: 10790 Ne jà chevalier n'i eüst
De quel parage que il fust,
Jà peüst, en tute sa vie,
Aveir bele dame à amie
Se il n'eüst avant esté
De chevalerie pruvé.

The important "three days" is supplied by the MS *du Roi* 7515 [3.3.] *Colbert* which reads: for the last couplet, *Se il n'eüst iii fois esté De chevalerie esprové.*

The question is, did the chroniclers get their idea from the folk-tale or from some other source? Examination of the chronicle accounts shows that of the nine salient features of the folk-tale, listed by Miss Weston on page 47, they possess but two: a tournament of three days, and the love element. There is no disguise; there are no colors. A knight is here put to the test before his lady and must prove himself in three battles. Not only is there no mention of different colors, but both Geoffrey and Wace state distinctly in this very passage that Arthurian knights wore their arms all of one color. This does not look as though the tournament described in the chronicles originated in the folk-tale. Possibly it was Geoffrey's invention, but more probably it is a reflec-

[44] On the significance of these colors, see Miss Weston, 37 and n.

tion of actual life. Studies in the social life of the Middle Ages record a tournament of several days' duration as a customary event. Schultz [45] in his account, however, says nothing specifically of three days. Gautier [46] speaks of events of the first day followed by several other days of tourney. Prizes were given on the last day. The glossary (844, col. 3) notes the first, second, and third or final day of the tourney, after which, prizes were distributed. Thus tournaments of more than one day, and sometimes of specifically three, seem to have been customary in actual life.[47] The number three, aside from the superstition attached to it, would be natural number to fix upon, because it would offer opportunity for a deciding combat in case the first two battles should happen to show no advantage to either of two given opponents. It seems more likely, in view of this evidence, that the tournament of the chronicles is a reflection of contemporary life rather than of popular origin.

To return to the original question, does the *Cligès* tournament in which there are present both the several days and the popular colors, owe its origin to the folk-tale, to a literary source, or to the fashion of the day? Let us examine the *Cligès* tournament, 4579 ff.

The hero is here proving himself before the Arthurian court, though not before his lady unless we suppose him to be indirectly inspired by the absent Fenice. He fights four battles,—one over the conventional number. Note, however, that Cligès in preparing his disguise, sends three squires to London to purchase three suits of armor: black, green, and red (4600). Nothing is said about a fourth suit, yet on the fourth day Cligès appears in white arms against Gawain.[48] Miss Weston does not mention this discrepancy but speaks altogether of a four days' tournament, as though Crestien had blundered by departing from the popular number; his object being, she thinks, to combine the two versions of

[45] *Op. cit.*, II, 113.

[46] *La Chevalreie*, Paris, 1884, 696.

[47] Miss Weston admits that the literary versions may have been influenced by the customs of the day, p. 35.

[48] That Cligès is here fighting his uncle, may be an additional reason for disguise. It is a common occurrence in romance for blood relatives to fight as opponents in disguise. See *Yvain*, 5991 ff. where Yvain and Gawain, sons of the brothers, Urien and Lot, respectively (See pp. 4, 99, 111) are matched in combat, though without disguise. The father and son combat motif is another instance.

the original tale where the colors were in one case, black, red, and white; and in the other, green, red, and white (38). But there are in this episode, as we see, distinct traces of a Three Days' Tournament. In the three combats for which the three suits of armor were prepared, the black, the red, and the green, Cligès is victor. So far, the narrative agrees with the folk-tale. Why does the poet add another day? Perhaps he does it to show honor to his favorite knight, Gawain. (See pp. 112 f.) Cligès, as the hero, must be given a chance to measure swords with Gawain. This is Crestien's habit: Erec, Yvain, Perceval are each allowed to meet Gawain in the field, in every case to show that they as heroes may be his equals, but not his superiors. He is the sun that illuminates all chivalry (*Yvain* 2402), whom even the hero of the romance cannot force into a second place. Gawain could not be Cligès's opponent on any one of the three days, for those battles were especially designed to distinguish the hero, hence, only by extending the number of days can he bring Gawain into the tourney and make Cligès his peer, but not his conqueror.

In the light of this discussion it is possible that the *Cligès* tournament originated in some such way as this. As a test of the hero's valor for the sake of his lady, and as a series of combats in which the hero must always be victorious, the episode reflects the chivalric, romantic spirit of Wace. In the use of the particular colors as disguise it may reflect popular traits, or as Nitze suggests, it may show merely a bringing together of a number of colors already in romance. Finally, the fact that the *Cligès* tournament starts out as a three days' affair and turns into a four days' combat, and that the number of days for the tournaments in *Erec, Lancelot, Peredur,* and the *Chevalier du Papegaut* is either more or less than three, while the folk-story never varies from the number three, according to Miss Weston, leads to the inference that the tournament developed independently in the folk-tale and in romance. The only influence that the popular version is likely to have had on the romance version is the use of the particular colors. The motive and the conception of the *Cligès* tournament are thoroughly chivalric and romantic, and hence they could have been inspired either by the *Brut* or by actual custom. This seems to me a more plausible explanation than insistence upon the episode as a muddled version of the folk-tale.

The final exploit in *Cligès* appears to be connected with the military expeditions of the historical Arthur. It is the projected attack on Constantinople. This excursion is motived, however, by a romantic, not a historical situation: Alis, the emperor of Greece and uncle of Cligès has acted dishonorably and tyrannically towards his nephew. Cligès goes to Arthur for redress, and the king gathers an armament with which he proposes to go against Constantinople, the emperor's capital (6672 ff.). Arthur's assembling his forces recalls Wace's account of the king's preparations to invade Roman territory as the result of the Roman emperor's demand for tribute (11402 ff.). Both accounts give the idea of preparation on a very large scale, and both enumerate the dependencies that lend their aid:

*B* 11410 Ireis, Golandeis, Islandeis,
Daneis, Noreis, e Orqueneis.
Set vint mil armez unt promis.
. . . . . .
11418 Cil de Normandie, e d'Anjou,
Cil d'Auvergne e de Peitou;
Cil de Flandres, cil de Buluigne,
. . . . . .
11422 Quatre vint mil armes pramistrent
De tant deivent servir, ce distrent.
Douze cuntes de grant puissance,
Que l'on apeleit pers de France,
Qui od Gerin de Chartres furent,
De douze cent le numbre crurent:
. . . . . .
11430 Dis milliers en pramist Hoel,
Dels [deus] milliers li quens Aguisel.

So much for the knights and the nobles. Of the commons, Wace says:

11438 Ne sai numbrer ne cil n'i firent
Qui le grant ost assamblé virent.

The great host embarks and lands at *Barbefloe en Normandie* (11445). Crestien says:

*C* 6682 Et li rois dit que a navie
Devant Constantinoble ira
Et de chevaliers anplira
Mil nes et de serjanz trois mile,

Teus que citez ne bors ne vile
Ne chastiaus, tant soit forz ne hauz,
Ne porra sofrir lor assauz.
. . . . . .
Li rois querre et semondre anvoie
Toz les hauz barons de sa terre
Et fet apareillier et querre
Nes et dromonz, buces et barges.
D'escuz, de lances et de targes
Et d'armeüre a chevalier
Fet çant nes anplir et chargier.
Por ostiier fet aparoil
Li rois si grant, qu'ains le paroil
N'ot nes Caesar ne Alixandres.
Tote Angleterre et totes Flandres.
Normandie, France et Bretaingne,
Et toz çaus jusqu'as porz d'Espaingne
A fet semondre et amasser.

For several reasons this passage is reminiscent of the *Brut*. First, it is an Arthurian passage. The oriental portion of the romance connects itself with the Arthurian court just twice: in the four days' tournament, and in this incident. Since every other Arthurian passage in *Cligès* seems traceable to the *Brut,* and since this Arthurian passage finds a parallel in the *Brut* there is a likelihood of its springing from that source, also. Second, the Arthur of the romances is almost invariably inactive, a background figure, before whom more youthful heroes come and go and flash into fame. (*See* pp. 83 ff., 133 ff.) But in *Cligès,* Crestien makes Arthur as active a figure as the technique of the story will permit. The fact that he brings Arthur forward when he already has two heroes to manage points rather strongly to chronicle influence. Thirdly, if we note the dependencies that the Arthur of the *Cligès* summons we find that they are some of the very lands subjugated by him in his wars for supremacy recounted by Wace:

*C* 6702 tote Angleterre.
*B* 9266 ff. narrates Arthur's conquest of England.
*C*. 6702 totes Flandres.
*B* 10149 Flandres e Buluigne cunquist.

*C* 6703 Normandie, France et Bretaingne.
*B* 10146 ff. Conquest of France by Arthur.
*B* 10415 ff. Arthur gives Normandie as a fief to Bedver, his butler.
*C* 6704 Et toz caus jusqu'as porz d'Espaingne.
*B* 10597 Everybody was present at the coronation, even those *jusqu'en Espaigne.*
*B* 6026 ff. tells of the settlement of Armorica by colonists sent out from Britain. Cp. *Cligès* 439.

For these reasons this account in *Cligès* looks like a borrowing from the *Brut.*

Under this head should be discussed a few lines from the first part of the story, relative to Arthur's departure for Brittany. Crestien says, when the news of Arthur's coming reached Brittany:

439 Que li rois vient et si baron,
S'an font grant joie li Breton.

and when Arthur is preparing to return to England on learning of Angrès's treachery:

1089 ..par tote Bretaingne
Fait crier que nus n'i remaingne,
Qui puisse armes porter an ost,
Que après lui ne vaingne tost.

These lines, too, echo Arthur's wars for supremacy, since they show that Brittany was under fealty to him. Further, the Britons' delight over Arthur's coming is no doubt connected with the fact that the inhabitants of Britain [49] (England) and Brittany (Armorica) are of one origin and that in history, amicable relations were further emphasized through Hoel, Duke of Armorica, who was Arthur's nephew.[50]

Thus it appears likely that *Cligès,* in addition to its dependence on the *Tristan* of Thomas and on the *Marques de Rome* story is, in such episodes as the Rebellion of Count Angrès, Alexander's exploit on the banks of the Thames, the Four Days' Tournament, and the Expedition against Constantinople, more or less indebted to the *Brut,* of Wace,—a consideration that emphasizes the literary origin of this romance.

[49] For discussion of *Bretaingne*, see pp. 114 ff.
[50] *B* 6026 ff., 9375 ff., 9774, 10592, etc.

## Chapter II

### *Episodes, Continued*

### The *Chevalier à la Charrete*

Gaston Paris (*Rom.* XII, 1883, 459) has clearly pointed out the discrepancies [1] in the narrative of the *Charrete* and the difficulties in the way of determining its sources. Crestien's romance, he says, has but a distant connection with the mythological story of the other-world. The *ile de verre* has been transported from a far-off western region to a province of Britain; the king of the dead has become an actual prince. Only feeble traces of the supernatural are left. Meliaganz seems to have been an Irish chief; [2] here he has become king [rather son of a king] of Somerset with a capital at Bade. *Bade* can only be Bath, one of the principal cities of Somersetshire. The name "Bath" is Anglo-Saxon, but figures in Celtic legend. [He then quotes from Geoffrey and Wace.] *Gorre,* the land of which Bade is the capital, he is at a loss how to explain. In regard to the sources of the story he concludes (533): The Breton *conte,* which Crestien knew under a much altered form, had a mythological source, the abduction of a queen by the king of the dead, and her rescue by her husband.[3] Later, this story was identified with Arthur and Guinevere. Next, the king of the dead receives the name of Maelwas,[4] is identified with a real personage, and loses in great measure his supernatural character. The other-world traits that persist are, the *ile de verre,* the country whence there is no return, and the *pont de l'espee.* [He might have added the *pont evage.*] An Anglo-Norman poem takes the story at this point, but makes Lancelot the deliverer of Guinevere. As yet, he is not her lover. Probably it is to Crestien that the illicit relation of Lancelot and Guinevere is due. The poet says that Marie de Champagne gave him the *matiere.* Probably as daughter of Eleanor of England she had heard the recital of the

[1] See also *Karrenritter* LXXXIII; and Miss Weston, *The Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac,* London, 1901, 42.

[2] *Rom.* XII, 512, n.

[3] This theory is based on the testimony of the *Vita Gildae, see* p. 53. See also *Karrenritter* LXVI. Miss Weston, however, thinks Gawain the original rescuer. (*Legend of Sir Gawain,* London, 1897, 83) Later, in the *Lancelot* (53) she admits that the only points satisfactorily settled are the original character of the story, and the fact that Lancelot was not at first the hero of the adventure.

[4] Paris, *Rom.* X, 492; XII, 502; Lot, *Rom.* XXIV 27, 327, 568.

Anglo-Norman poem and had given it to Crestien.[5] She furnished him with the *sens* also. Marie de Champagne was active in a movement in the latter part of the twelfth century to develop the idea of a love "raffiné, savant, intimement lié à la courtoisie et à la prouesse, en donnant à la femme en tant que maîtresse, une importance qu'elle n'avait pas eu jusque là. Cet amour," he concludes, "est précisément l'inspiration du poème de Chrétien qui le peint telque l'avait conçu la théorie de ces cercles élégants, dans la liaison de Lancelot et de Guenièvre." This opinion, except of course for the Anglo-Norman hypothesis, has been generally accepted. Is it possible that Wace could have had any influence on the composition of a work apparently so far removed from the atmosphere of chronicle history?

We may remember that the *HRB*[6] and the *Brut* recount at length Arthur's wars for the control of Britain and neighboring territory—wars with the Picts, Scots, Irish, Saxons, the king of Iceland, and the king of the Orkneys. Special emphasis is given, naturally, to the hostility of the Saxons. The enmity had been of long duration, having begun with the landing of this people under the leadership of Hengist and Horsa in the reign of Vortigern (*B* 6860). According to history, Arthur's attempts against these foes began at York by the river Duglas (9275). Discouraged he retreats to London (9365). His next move is to Lincoln where he defeats the Saxons in the forest of Celidon ( 9403,[7] 9422.) Presently the Saxons lay siege to Bath in Somerset. When Arthur gets word of this he desists from pursuing the Picts and Scots and moves upon Bath where he wins one of the great victories of his career, slaying with his own hand 470[8] Saxons in the one battle. Then he returns to the Picts and Scots in Albania (9642) and there reduces these people and the interfering Irish to subjection (9690), after which, he moves South by way of York (9834). The next summer he makes a successful expedition against Ireland,

[5] *See also* Weston, *Lancelot*, 48.

[6] *HRB* IX, i, *B* 9266 ff.

[7] For Geoffrey's *Kaerlindoit* the *Brut* reads *Nicole, Lindocolinum*, X, iii.

[8] *HRB* IX, iv. Wace says: *quatre cens*, 9590.

Iceland, Gothland, and the Orkneys and then settles down to twelve years of peace (9978).[9]

It is significant that although most of this fighting takes place in the north, the conflict described in greatest detail is that around Bath, in southwestern England. The meeting of Britons and Saxons at Bath had been famous in history ever since the time of Gildas,[10] that is, about the middle of the sixth century, hence Geoffrey and Wace had a good precedent for their detailed accounts. The important point for us is the prominent association of Arthurian story with a locality in southern Britain.

Certain features of this militant relation between Britons and Saxons find a parallel in the *Charrete*. The story opens with Arthur's realm on hostile terms with that of King Baudemagus. On account of Crestien's vague and unsatisfactory geography, Gorre, the kingdom of Baudemagus is yet to be identified. Gaston Paris, as we have seen (p. 50) makes no attempt to solve the problem. Brugger [11] devotes 71 pages to the question, offering rather uncertainly the hypothesis that Gorre is to be identified with Strathmore in Scotland, but concluding with the confession that the matter is still *in der Luft*. Rhŷs [12] connects Gorre with Gower, a peninsula on the southern coast of Wales, an opinion rejected by Brugger. Lot [13] explains the confusion of Bath in Somerset with Gorre through a misunderstanding by Crestien and Godefroi de Laigny of the material they were handling, and suggests that Gorre may be the French pronunciation of the old Welsh *Gwydr* (Mod. Welsh, *Gutr*) translating the French *verre*. Gorre may thus be the *ile de verre* or Glastonbury. This hypothesis, Brugger thinks not impossible.

The most reasonable views, it seems to me, are those tending to locate Gorre in the South. Brugger is evidently working in accord with Zimmer's theory [14] of the beginning of historical Arthurian

[9] *HRB* IX, x. The *Brut* reads *trente ans*, but the two variant readings noted by the editor have "12 years," II, p. 13, n. *a*.

[10] Giles, *op. cit.*, 313, 409.
Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 4, 7, 8, 30.

[11] *ZfS* XXVIII (1906) 1 ff.

[12] *Studies in Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, 329.

[13] *Rom.* XXIV, 332.

[14] GGA (1890) 525.

story in the North, when he would place Gorre in Scotland.[15] But, as Zimmer says, the Britons of the North, pushed into the Southwest of the island by their Saxon foes, carried Arthurian story with them. Hence by the time of Nennius, in the ninth century, the tradition was already associated with such places as Bath and Carlion. In the *HRB,* Bath, Carlion, London, Southampton, Cornwall, Winchester figure in Arthur's progress. Moreover, the *Vita Gildae,* attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan (1150[ca])[16], brings Arthur to Glastonbury there to besiege, with an army drawn from Cornwall and Devon, Melwas, king of the *Aestivo regione,* Somerset, who had stolen away Guinevere and concealed her in this stronghold.[17]

In the face of this testimony it seems only reasonable to associate Gorre with the South. We do not have to go to Scotland to get a body of water with which to surround Gorre (*L* 657). Somerset, for example, borders on the Bristol Channel. Whatever the origin of the name may be, I believe that Crestien, as it will appear inevitably in the course of this study, was either ignorant of or indifferent to geographical location; and that since we have for a clue Bath of Somerset as the capital city of an unidentified region called Gorre, we may, for the present, at least, infer that Gorre was supposed to be in the region of Somerset.

To return to the subject of the hostility between Britain and Gorre, in both the *Brut* and the *Charrete,* the center of war between these two kingdoms is Bath. Next, the quarrel motiving the plot is not a private matter between Meliaganz and Arthur or any one of his knights; the whole of both realms is involved and the trouble has been going on for some time before the story opens. Just as with the historical Arthur and the Saxons, the difficulty is between old enemies.

It is Ascension day; the Court is assembled at Carlion or Cama-

[15] Note that Urien, called by the chroniclers, King of Morray, (*Brut* 9865, *HRB* IX, xii) is by Malory made king of Gorre, (*Morte d'Arthur* ed. Strachey, London, 1909, 27, 31, 35, 42). Whether Malory identified Morray with Gorre it is hard to say. Once, however, he makes Bagdemagus, king of Gore, 405.

[16] Paris, *Rom.* XII, 511 thinks it was later. Lot, *Mélanges d'Histoire Bretonne,* Paris, 1907, 275 says: "Caradoc serait mort en 1156—Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est que son oeuvre est antérieure à 1166, puisqu'on possède un manuscrit de la *Vita Gildae* écrit en cette année au plus tard."

[17] See p. 50 and n. 3.

lot.[18] Meliaganz enters suddenly, and approaching Arthur says:

53 Rois Artus, j'ai an ma prison
De ta terre et de ta meison
Chevaliers, dames et puceles,
Mes ne t'en di pas les noveles
Por ce que jes te vuelle randre;
Einçois te vuel dire et aprandre
Que tu n'as force ne avoir,
Por quoi tu les puisses avoir.
Et saches bien qu'einsi morras
Que ja eidier ne lor porras.

He then demands the queen, saying that he will ride into the woods and await her there. Guinevere departs with Kay; soon after, Gawain and then Lancelot start off in seach of her. During the quest, Lancelot is entertained at the court of a *vavasor* whose family:

2063 N'estoient pas de la terre,[19]
Mes il i estoient au serre,
Et prison tenu i avoient
Mout longement et si estoient
Del reaume de Logres né.

Lancelot tells his host:

2093 Del reaume de Logres sui
Ainz mes an cest païs ne fui

Then the host says to Lancelot:

2100 Tant mar i fustes, biaus douz sire,
Tant est granz domages de vos!
Qu'or seroiz aussi come nos
An servitume et an essil.

Lancelot, riding forward with his two companions, meets a man who desires to entertain them over night. As the host is about to lead them with him, a squire dashes up crying to him:

2301 Sire, sire, venez plus tost!
Car cil de Logres sont a ost
Venu sor ceus de ceste terre
S'ont ja commanciee la guerre

[18] There seems to be a confusion of names here, *L* 32, 34, *see also* p. 74, n. 70. On *Camalot*, see Paris, *Rom.* XII, 464.

[19] i. e. Gorre.

Et la tançon et la meslee;
Et dient qu'an cest contree
S'est uns chevaliers anbatuz
Qui an mainz leus s'est conbatuz,
N'an ne li puet contretenir
Passage, ou il vuelle venir,
Que il n'i past, cui qu'il enuit.
Et dïent ou cest païs tuit
Que il les deliverra toz
Et metra les noz au dessoz.
Or si vos hastez, par mon los!

2324. The knight thus addressed hurries off to aid his countrymen. Those who have heard the squire's message—Lancelot and his companions—rejoice and say that they will go to the assistance of their friends. These friends are the captive Britons. Lancelot and his companions follow the man to a fortress where a great battle takes place in which Lancelot is, of course, the victor. The liberated captives, *Cil de Logres,* (2425) on inquiring to whom they are indebted learn:

2425 . . . . . Ce est cil
Qui nos gitera toz d'essil
Et de la grant malëurté
Ou nos avons lonc tans esté.

Later on, Lancelot is again entertained by a host originally from Logres.

2969 Sire, nos venimes pieç'a
Del reaume de Logres ça

says the host to his guest.

While in the land of King Baudemagus, Lancelot is to engage in combat with Meliaganz, the king's son, and abductor of Guinevere. Both sides assemble to witness the battle.

3530 Le chevalier estrange mande
Li rois tantost et l'an li mainne
An la place qui estoit plainne
Des janz del reaume de Logres;
* * * * * * *

3539 Estoient la tuit äuné
Trois jorz avoient jëuné

Et alé nuz piez et an langes
Totes les puceles estranges
Del reaume le roi Artu,
Por ce que Deus force et vertu
Donast contre son averseire
Au chevalier qui devoit feire
La bataille por les cheitis.

The condition of exiled maidens is clearly indicated here.

This combat is indecisive and another is arranged for, to be held later.

3904 . . . . . a la cort
La roi Artu iert la bataille
Qui tient Bretaingne et Cornoaille:

*Bretaingne et Cornoaille* and *Logres* appear to be synonymous here. (*See* p. 118 & n. 7; p. 120).

Another reference to the captive people occurs when Lancelot, before he enters the land of Gorre, meets a maiden who says to him:

1310 "Et se vos ne conduisiiez
Par les us et par les costumes
Qui furent ainz que nos ne fumes
El reaume de Logres mises." [20]

Moreover, in other-world abduction stories, if there is any restoration usually only *one* person is brought back, and not a great number, as here. I feel that there has been confusion of sources at this point, and that if Crestien had fully understood the nature of the fairy material he was using, Arthur might not have been placed in such an ignominious position and there might have been fewer inconsistencies in the story.

Is it pushing the parallel too far if we read in these passages the idea of captivity of Britons by Saxons, of Saxons by Britons, and the idea that Arthur, the hero of the historical battles, has here, on account of technical requirements, been replaced by Lancelot the hero of the romance? There is in support of this view still another piece of evidence: the name and person of Baudemagus, king of Gorre.

First, as we have observed, his capital city is Bath in Somerset (6255), the scene of the historical Arthur's great victory over the

[20] Foerster also seems to be of this opinion; for he says: "Dem Sinn kann es nur heissen; 'bevor wir von Artus erobert worden sind'" *Karrenritter* 372.

Saxons. Secondly, the name *Baudemagus(z)* is significant. This word offers quite as much of a crux as Gorre. Here again, Brugger [21] has much to say, but nothing conclusive. Although he recognizes the form *Baudemagus,* he bases his argument relative to Crestien's use of the word, on the form *Bademagus.* There is something, however, to be said for *Baudemagus.* A comparison of the text with the MS variants shows that three times out of four, the name occurs in the *Baude*-form, in the MS considered by Foerster as the most reliable, namely, *T;* [22] and that in the Godefroi de Laigney portion [23] of the poem the form is invariably *Bade*—in all the MSS. It is also to be noted that the first occurrence of the name in the text is in the *Baude*-form (656). If the MSS are to be trusted, it looks as though the *Baude*-form was the one used by Crestien. In that case it is possible to see how *Bade-* developed. Phonetically, it has no connection with *Baude.* In composition it was probably influenced by *Bade,* "Bath," since Bade was the capital city of Bademagus; [24] or, the copyists may not have understood the *Baude*-form and having the name *Bade,* Bath before them, corrected *Baude-* to *Bade-* . This explanation would account for the frequent occurrence of *Bade* in the MSS other than *T* and for the absence of *Baude-* in all the MSS of the Laigny portion. The fact that *Baude-* occurs once in a later MS (*A*, 656) but within the Crestien part of the poem, note, may indicate an accidental survival of the original form.

If *Baudemagus* was the original form it may offer some testi-

[21] *ZfS* XXVIII, 1 ff.

[22] 656, 3157, 5158. Foerster says, *Karrenritter* XI, that he has made up his text from the *a* group, that is *T*, *C*. (See table on page IX). Therefore the text must be based on *T* wherever variants from *C* occur in the footnotes, and vice versa. Hence, as the text reads *Baude-*, 656, and the variant *Bade-* occurs in *C*, the *Baude*-form must belong to *T*. Verse 4427 reads *Bade-* without any variants; so here, the *Bade*-form must be in *T* too. I have not discussed the variants found in the later MSS: *A* 3157, *Bondemaguz; E* 3157, *Badegamus; E* 5158 *Bondemagu,* because they do not seem to throw any light on the question. These later forms appear in the cyclic romances, see Brugger, *ZfS* XXVIII, 11. In the Wauchier continuation of the *Perceval* we find *Bagommedes* 30615. (Potvin ed.) and *Bandemagus* 43947. There is no evidence in the *Perceval* that this person, or these persons,—they do not seem to be the same—have any connection with Baudemagus of the *Charrete.*

[23] Variously given from 6147-6167, to the end. See *Karrenritter* XVI.

[24] Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, 332; and Brugger, *ZfS* XXVIII, 7, 16, think that *Bade* is derived from *Bademagus*—Lot, because he thinks it is thus that Bade of Somerset got confused with Gorre; and Brugger, because as he says, Geoffrey derives Bade from its founder, Bladud- (but Geoffrey does not say a word about the derivation of Bade, II, x). It seems more likely that Bath as a famous place, gave rise to the formation Bademagus.

mony in favor of the historical theory. Separated into its obvious members, *Baude* and *Magus* the word looks like "Baude, the magician" and may be set beside such a compound as Simon Magus.[25] This idea suggests a connection between Baudemagus, king of Bath and Bladus, founder of Bath and creator of its mysterious waters, the necromancer[26] whose fame is recounted in the *Brut*.

1667 Bladus fu mult de grant puissance
E sot assez de nigromance.
Cil funda Bade e fist les bainz;
Unques n'i orent esté ainz,
De Bladu fu Balda[27] numée,
La secunde letre *l* ostée.
Ou Bade ot par le baing cest nun
Pur la merveilluse façun;
Les bainz fist chauz e saluables
E al poeple mult profitables.

Note that Bladus was a magician and the marvelous nature of the baths is due apparently to his necromantic art. On turning to the *Charrete* we find that king Baudemagus is apparently connected with mysterious waters and marvelous structures.

(1) Gawain and Lancelot in their quest of Guinevere are met by a damsel (640) who tells them that the queen has been abducted by Meliaganz, son of the king of Gorre, and carried to this kingdom. To their question, where is this land, she replies:

651 ....."Tost le savroiz;
Mes ce sachiez, mont i avroiz
Anconbriers et felons trespas;
Que de legier n'i antre an pas
Se par le congié le roi non
(Li roi Baudemaguz a non),
Si puet an autrer totes voies
Par deus mout perilleuses voies
Et par deus mout felons passages.

[25] See Hart, J. M., *A British Icarus in MLN*, Dec. 1910.

[26] Brugger *ZfS* XXVIII, 7, suggests the equations: As Geoffrey derives *Bade* from *Bladud*, so Crestien or his source, derives *Bade* from *Bademagut*. As Geoffrey makes Bladud founder of Bath, so Crestien has Bademagut live in Bath. The first equation is answered on p. 57, n. 24, the second, I agree to.

[27] Probably what Wace wrote was *Bada* rather than *Balda*. This change at once renders an obscure passage clear: *Bada* (Latin) would give in French, *Bade*.

Li uns a non Li Ponz Evages,
Por ce que soz eve est li ponz;
Si a de l'eve jusqu'au fonz
Autant de soz come de sus,
Ne de ça mains de la plus,
Ainz est li ponz tot droit an mi;
Et si n'a que pié et demi
De la et autretant d'espés
Bien fet a refuser cist mes,
Et s'est ce li mains perilleus;
Mes il a assez antre deus
Avantures don je me tes.
Li autre ponz est plus mauvés
Et est plus perilleus assez;
Qu' ains par home ne fu passez;
Qu'il est come espee tranchanz
Et por ce trestotes les janz
L'apelent Le Pont De L'Espee.''

(2) When Lancelot reaches the perilous *ponte de l'espee*, and dismounts upon the near side, he sees the water:

3023 . . . . . l'eve felenesse,
Roide et bruiant,[28] noire et espesse,
Si leide et si espoantable
Con se fust li fluns au deable,
Et tant perilleuse et parfonde [28]
Qu'il n'est riens nule an tot le monde,
S'ele i cheoit, ne fust alee
Aussi come au la mer salee.

Lancelot, of course, essays the perilous passage, and on arriving on the further shore, immediately sees before him a bower from the window of which is leaning King Baudemagus (3152 ff.)

(3) The second perilous passage, the bridge laid deep under the water, is attempted by Gawain (5125 ff.) Accomplishing the ordeal with great difficulty he reaches the opposite shore in a faint. As soon as he revives, he inquires after the queen and is answered by those who were with King Baudemagus:

[28] These epithets are frequently used by Cretien to describe other-world waters, *E* 5379; *P* (Baist), 2950.

5157 Et cil qui li ont respondu
D'avuee le roi Baudemagu.

Thus Baudemagus seems to have some connection with the perilous passage into the land of Gorre. Furthermore, Baudemagus as he leans from the tower window apparently watching Lancelot crossing the *pont de l'espee* is described as *mout soutis et aguz,* epithets entirely appropriate to a magician. (3158).

Again, both Bladus and Baudemagus are represented as persons kindly disposed. Bladus made health-giving baths; Baudemagus is always friendly towards those who come from the enemy's camp. It is his son Meliaganz who is the bitter and unforgiving foe (3157, 4427, 4254.) Baudemagus seems out of place. Possibly he had no part in the original abduction story. He may have come from another source. Why not from the *Brut?*

Finally, the names Bladus and Baude- are related phonetically.[29] The compound was doubtless invented by Crestien or his source.

There is another possible explanation for the second part of this name: *Maguz(s)* may equate *Mabuz,* the name of an enchanter in the German *Lanzelet. Mabuz* or rather *Mabon,* a closely related form, is found compounded with *Evrain* or *Agrain* in *Mabonagrain,*[30] the victim of the *Joie de la Cort* episode in *Erec* (5367).

In the *Erec* appear Mabonagrain, and Evrain, his uncle who plays the rôle of Hospitable Host. In the *Bel Inconnu* are found Mabon, the enchanter of the *Gaste Cité,* and Evrain his accomplice (3321, 3343).

Thus if Mabon has been compounded in the one instance by Crestien it is possible that the form has served him a second time, in *Baudemagus.* But in either case, whether we adopt *Magus,* magician, or *Mabuz,*[31] the name of a magician, we arrive at practically the same result: the word refers to a person of supernatural powers, and may still be connected with Wace's Bladus.

[29] Bladus > Baldus by metathasis of *l.* Baldus > Baudus by vocalization of *l. See* Suchier, *Les Voyelles Toniques du Vieux Français* trad. par. Ch. Guerlin de Guer, Paris, 1906, § 50 and esp. § 56.

[30] Pointed out by Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, 321.

[31] For further discussion of *Mabon* see Philipot, *Rom.* XXV, (1896) 275. There is often a similarity in the names of other-world characters: the Red Knight, Garlan the Red, Esclados li Ros; Flore de mont, la Dame aux cheveux blons, Blanchefleur; Melwas, Meliganz, Maheloas, etc.

As a connection between Bladus and Baudemagus seems possible on the ground of phonology as well as of character, the supposition that Crestien borrowed his king of Bath from Wace does not seem unreasonable.

Another situation in the *Charrete* that may have been inspired by the *Brut* is the liaison of Guinevere and Lancelot. We have already seen (p. 50) that according to Paris, Crestien was the first to introduce into Arthurian romance the illicit love of this pair, for originally the rescuer of the abducted queen was her husband.[32] But sometime before the composition of the *Charrete* the unfaithfulness of Guinevere had been recorded in the chronicles.[33] Wace, much impressed by the guilt of Modred and the queen, recorded his opinion forcibly in the very episode which Crestien knew well. It has been shown (pp. 36, 101) why for technical reasons it was impossible for Crestien to have followed Wace in leaving the queen of the *Cligès* in England and in engaging her in guilty relations with Angrès. But there is no reason why the action of Guinevere should not, at the time he borrowed from Wace for the Angrès episode, have made an impression on him which bore fruit in his next romance, the *Charrete*.[34]

It may be suggested that Crestien knowing Thomas's *Tristan*, and having perhaps composed a *Tristan* of his own was in the *Charrete* attempting to reproduce somewhat the same situation, but the other explanation is more likely since he had a very good model in the guilt of Guinevere herself.[35]

For the abduction of Guinevere there is, as we have seen, a

[32] The story of Guinevere as an unfaithful wife was current as tradition however before Crestien's day. *See* Weston, *Lancelot* 45 f.; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore* 49; *HL* XXX, 200 f.

[33] *HRB* X, xiii; XI, i.

[34] The *Brut* 11460, describes Modred's love of Guinevere thus:

Il aveit la reïne amee
Mais ce esteit chose celee;
Il s'en celot mais qui quidast
Qu'il la feme sun uncle amast?

Change *uncle* to *rei* and these lines would describe very well the love of Lancelot and Guinevere.

[35] *See* Golther, *ZfS* XXII (1900) 3; and Foerster, *Karrenritter*, LXXV, LXXXII, who remark on the parallel between the lovers in the *Tristan* and in the *Charrete*.

chronicle foundation, the *Vita Gildae*[36] (after 1150, see p. 53 and n.[16]). "Gildas[37] ingressus est glastonian—Melvas rege regnante in Aestiva regione—glastonia, id est urbs vitrea (quae nomen sumsit a vitro) est (et) urbs nomine primitus in britannice sermone [suppl. dicta quis witryn?]. Obsessa est itaque ab Arturo tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege et ibi ductam propter refugium, inviolati loci, propter inundationes arundineti ac fluminis et paludis, causae tutelae. Quaesiverat rex rebellis?) reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tamen (l. tandem?) illam glastoniae commorantem. Illico commovit exercitus totius cornubiae et Dibueniae paratum est bellum inter inimicos. Hoc vivo, abbas Glastoniae, comitante clero et Gilda sapiente, intravit medias acies. Consulvit Melvas regi suo pacifice est redderet captam; reddita ergo fuit quae reddenda fuerat per pacem et benevolentiam."

This episode has several points in common with the Charrete story. First, the names of the abductors are similar:[38] secondly, their kingdoms seem to be in the same region. (See p. 53). Thirdly, the queen's rescue is accomplished only after a struggle involving not one or two heroes only, but whole armies (pp. 53 ff.). It is possible that the *Vita Gildae* was known to Crestien or at least that he was familiar with the story as there told; but the theme of Guinevere's infidelity and her liaison with some one closely related

[36] There is probably little actual fact in this narrative. Lot, *Mélanges d' Histoire Britonne*, 237, regards it is "une invention romanesque destinée à rehausser la gloire de l' abbaye de Glastonbury (dans la Sommersetshire) en faisant croire qu'elle possede les reliques des plus illustre 'savant' des Bretons." He regards Guinevere's abduction as of Welsh origin (269). This possible Welsh source may be connected with the tradition cited by Rhŷs and Miss Weston (see p. 61, n. 32) of Guinevere's unfaithfulness. *See also* Paris *Rom.* X, 491; XII, 511. However, Lot. *op cit.*, 274, 282, shows that the *Vita* has probably been influenced by Geoffrey, hence Geoffrey may have been the inventor of this conception of Guinevere. Such a situation would be thoroughly romantic. Geoffrey mentions Caradoc as a contemporary, together with Henry of Huntington and William of Malmesbury. (San Marte ed. p. 176; Lot, *op. cit.*, 275, p. 2).

[37] Ed., San Marte. This extract was taken from *Rom.* X, 491, n. 1 where it is quoted by Paris.

[38] Paris, *Rom.* XII, 502 n. 1, finds a phonetic relation between Melvas and Meleagant; Zimmer and Foerster do not agree to this, (*Karrenritter* XXXVIII,) but connect Melvas with Maheloas, sire de *l'Isle de Voirre* (Erec 1946). Paris also points out this relation. Brugger, *ZfS* XXVIII, 8, n. 12, says that since Melwas and Meliaganz are alike in character and as Melvas and Maheloas are both from the *Isle de Verre*, the three named must be intended to represent the same character. Did Crestien get his Maheloas from the *Vita Gildae?*

to Arthur, is for reasons already assigned, probably due to the influence of Wace.[39]

This discussion leads to the opinion that Crestien, while adopting as the substructure of his romance an other-world abduction story, and developing as the theme the conception of an *amour courtois* subtilized by André le Chapelain[40] and transmitted by Marie de Champagne, is at the same time reminiscent of certain episodes and situations found in the *Roman de Brut*. There is no desire here to disagree with established views as to the origin of the *Charrete* story, but merely to show that beside the various elements already known to exist, there may be also an historical element quite as possible to trace as the mythical and folkloristic features. Such a conclusion obtains further support when we recall Crestien's technique. His habit of rationalizing other-world scenery and traditions is well known.[41] Paris has said that the other-world coloring, when the story reached Crestien's hands, lost much of its former significance, an observation to which all who have read the romance must agree. That Crestien, with the story of Modred's treachery and of Arthur's conquests fresh in mind after writing *Cligès* should have chosen to blend so-called historical facts with popular tradition in the effort to give realistic effect seems not improbable.

### *Yvain*

Wace, while enumerating in the *Roman de Rou* the heroes and peoples who accompanied Duke William to the exercise of his vengeance upon the unfortunate Harold, steps out of the highway of his narrative for a moment to describe the strange forest of Broceliande which contributed forces to William's cause. Among those who went to England were:

Vol. II 6395 . . . . . cil devers Breceliant
Dunc Bretun vunt sovent fablant,
Une forest mult lunge e lee,
Qui en Bretaigne est mult loee.
La funtaine de Berentun

[39] Thedens, *op. cit.*, 128, is also of this opinion, but we reached our conclusions independently.

[40] *See Rom.* XII, 523.

[41] *Erec* 2432-2577, *Yvain* 907 ff.; *Perceval* 1682 ff.

Sort d'une part lez un perrun
Aler suleient veneür
A Berentun par grant chalur,
E a lur corz l'eve espuisier
E le perrun desuz moillier.
Pur ço suleient pluie aveir;
Issi suleit jadis ploveir
En la forest e envirun
Mais jo ne sui par quel raison.
La suelt l'en les fees veeir,
Se li Bretun nus dient veir,
E altres merveilles plusurs;
Aires i suelt aveir d'osturs
E de granz cers mult grant plenté;
Mais vilain unt tut deserté,
La alai jo merveilles querre,
Vi la forest e vi la terre,
Merveilles quis, mes ne trovai,
Fol m'en revinc, fol i alai,
Fol i alai, fol m'en revinc
Folie quis, pur fol me tinc.

As soon as we reach the word *fablant* we are at once transported into the realm of fancy and are prepared for the rain-bringing properties of the fountain when its water is poured upon the marvelous stone,—a phenomenon, it seems, too deep for Wace to fathom.

Crestien, apparently, has made effective use of this legend at the beginning of his romance. Calogrenanz has begun the story of his disgrace. For an entire day, lonely as a peasant he rode:

181 Parmi une forest espesse.
Mout i ot voie felenesse,
De ronces et d' espines plainne;
* * * * * * * *
Tanque de la forest issi
Et ce fu an Broceliande.

After his hospitable entertainment by the *vavasor* and the instructions of the hunchback herdsman he journeys on until nearly noon (411) when he comes in sight of the tree and the fountain so carefully described by his informant. (370 ff.) Then he essays the adventure.

La mervoille a veoir me plot
De la tanpeste et de l'orage,
Don je ne me ting mie a sage;
Que volontiers m'en repantisse
Tot maintenant, se je poïsse,
Quant je oi le perron crosé
De l'iaue au bacin arosé.
Mes trop an i versai, ce dot;
Que lors vi le ciel si derot
Que de plus de quatorze parz
Me feroit es iauz li esparz,
Et les nues tot pesle mesle
Gitoient noif et pluie et gresle.
Tant fu li tans pesmes et forz
Que çant foiz cuidai estre morz
Des foudres qu'antor moi cheoient
Et des arbres qui despeçoient.
Sachiez que mout fui esmaiiez
Tant que li tans fu rapaiiez.

The points of coincidence in these episodes are:

1. The place—Broceliande.
2. The magic nature of fountain and stone.
   a. The rain making properties of the fountain are active only after the water has been poured on the stone.
   b. A sudden rain follows this act.
3. The disappointment of the seekers.
4. The final lines of the story: *B* 6418; *Y* 577.

Wace goes to the fountain hunting for marvels, but not finding any he concludes that he went on a fool's errand. Calogrenanz also goes purely to seek adventure, and getting well paid for his curiosity, sadly reflects that he too went on a fool's errand. After his defeat by Esclados li Ros he picks himself up and returns thoughtfully home, echoing the words of the deceived Wace:

Einsi alai, einsi reving,
Au revenir por fol me ting.

There are, however, several points of divergence in these stories. Wace's fountain has a name, Berenton. The result of pouring water on the stone is in the *Rou* apparently nothing more than a rain; in *Yvain* it is a violent storm. Wace's fountain

has a beneficial effect on vegetation; huntsmen in the hot season pour its water from their horns upon the stone to bring rain. Crestien's fountain is harmful to vegetation and to man. Thunderbolts splinter the trees and the fury of the snow, rain and hail terrifies Calogrenanz almost to death. The birds that come out on the tree after the storm seem here to symbolize a spirit of thanksgiving that the peril is over. Lastly, in *Yvain* there is an ultimate effect: the combat to which Calogrenanz is forced by the defender of the fountain. The fountain of Berenton has no protector.

In spite of these differences there is enough similarity between the passages to warrant the opinion that Crestien has borrowed from the *Rou,* if the episode were unique with Wace. But the fountain of Broceliande is described in mediaeval Latin literature;[42] marvelous stones and fountains with rain-making properties are found in Celtic story;[43] and there are extant, traces of a fountain cult among the gallo-Romans.[44] These facts have led scholars to a division of opinion on the question of Crestien's indebtedness to Wace for this feature, Foerster[45] holding the affirmative side against Baist,[45] Brown[45] and Kölbing.[45] However, one need not accept or disagree with either of these views entirely. It is quite possible that, in the case of the fountain, as with other features of popular tradition such as the Round Table, the fame of this celebrated spring had reached Crestien through some other source than the *Rou,* and that he knew the *Rou* account at the same time.[46] The latter may at least have served him as a starting point. It cannot be shown that Crestien is dependent for this episode entirely either upon Wace or upon some other source, but the verbal similarity between the closing lines of the two passages is evident without demonstration and certainly indicates that Crestien must have known Wace's account.

There is another episode in *Yvain* reminiscent of Wace; namely,

[42] *Yvain,* 3rd ed., XXV.

[43] Brown, A. C. L., *HSN* VIII.

[44] Nitze, *MP* III (1905) 267 ff.; VII (1909) 145 ff. *See also* in this connection Miss L. B. Morgan, *MP* VI (1908) 331 ff.

[45] *Yvain,* 3rd ed., XXXI;
*ZrP* XXI, 402.
*HSN* VIII, (1901) 23.
*ZfvL* (N. F.) XI, 442.

[46] Professor Nitze is also of this opinion. *MP* III, 274, n. 2 where he says it is possible that Crestien got a hint of the fountain from Wace. *See also MP* III, 269.

the hero's combat with Harpin de la Montaigne (4182 ff.) which recalls in one respect Arthur's fight with Dinabuc, the giant of Mont St.-Michel (*Brut* 11874 ff.) Both Wace and Crestien compare the fall of the giant to the fall of a great oak tree.

*B* 11942 Tel escrois fist al chaëment
Cume chaisnes qui chiet par vent.

*Y* 4244 Li jaianz chiet, la morz l'asproie;
Et se uns granz chasnes cheïst,
Ne cuit greignor esfrois feïst
Que li jaianz fist au cheoir.

Of course, since the material for comparison is so obvious, this simile may be a stock figure. It is hard to determine indebtedness on such a slight foundation, for this is the only parallel in the whole episode. However, the point of similarity has seemed worth noting.

### *The Conte du Graal*

The episode of King Rion of the Isles offers a particularly difficult problem, partly because Crestien makes only a passing reference to the incident, partly because of the varied opinions held concerning the geographical question involved. There are three matters to consider: the identification of Rion,—the name and person, the location of his realm, and the source of Crestien's allusion: is it a borrowing from Wace, from Thomas, or from current tradition?

When the charcoal burner is questioned by Perceval on the road to Arthur's court, he says, in giving the youth directions: You will find King Arthur glad (823)[47] because he has vanquished Rion of the Isles:

828 Li rois Artus e tote s'ost
S'est au roi Rion combatuz
Li rois des Isles fu vaincuz
E de c'est li rois Artus liez.

1. *The name.* The first clue to the meaning of these lines is through the name, Rion. The *Brut* relates (11598) that when Arthur was on his way to meet the Romans he turned aside from the march to punish the giant Dinabuc of Mont St.-Michel, who had forcibly carried off Helena, the niece of Hoel of Brittany. After

[47] All citations are made from the text as printed by Baist unless otherwise indicated.

he had cut off the monster's head he remarked that he had never before encountered a stronger giant except Riton (11959). Then follows the narrative of his exploit with Riton:

Ritun aveit tant rei cunquis
E venqu e ocis e pris,
De lur barbes q'ot escorchiees
Ot unes pels apareilliees;
Pels en ot fait a afubler,
Mult deveit um Ritun duter.
Par grant orguil e par fiërté,
Aveit al rei Artus mandé
Que la siue barbe escorchast
E bunement li enveiast;
E si cum il plus forz esteit,
E il plus des altres valeit,
La soe barbe enveiereit,
E a ses pels orlé fereit.
E se Artus cuntrediseit
Ce que Ritun li requerreit,
Cors a cors ensamble venissent,
E sol a sol se cumbatissent;
E li quels qui l' altre ocireit
Ou qui vif vaincre le poreit,
La barbe eüst, preïst les pels
E feïst orlé et tassels.
Artus a lui se cumbati
El munt d' Araive sil venqui;
Les pels e la barbe escorcha,
Unques puis Artus ne trova
Gaiant qui fust d'itel valur
Ne dunt il eüst tel paür.

Wace's story is easily traceable to Geoffrey who gives in condensed form precisely the same account (X, iii). Here the name of the giant occurs as *Rithonem* (acc.). Rhŷs [48] tells a story, Celtic in origin, of a giant named Rhita.[49] Two brothers who were kings fell into a long and deadly quarrel which was broken up only by

[48] *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford 1901, 560.

[49] Iola MSS, 193b. The footnote there tells the reader that the story was copied from the *Book of Iaco ab Dewi*.

the appearance of Rhita Gawr, king of Wales, who attacked them on the ground of their being mad, conquered them, and shaved off their beards. When the other twenty-eight kings of Prydain [50] heard of this outrage they gathered their armies to take vengeance on Rhita, but after a great struggle they met with a fate like that of the two brothers. Then all the neighboring kings combined to make war on Rhita, but they also were vanquished and treated in the same ignominious fashion as the thirty kings of Prydain. With the beards Rhita had a mantle made to cover him from head to foot—a mantle of no mean size since he was said to be as large as two ordinary men. Then Rhita turned his attention to establishing just and equable laws between king and king, and one realm with another.[51]

The antagonist of Geoffrey's story can be no other than this Rhita of Celtic legend. The association of the giant with Arthur is quite natural. No one but Arthur could conquer a person who had arrived at such a pitch of arrogance as this beard-hunting king. The climax is reached when Rhita demands the beard of Arthur himself, and the dénoûment is inevitable. The form *Rhita* is Goidelic, Rhŷs thinks (p. 564). He concludes from Geoffrey's *Rithonem* that the old Welsh form was probably Rithon. But in the *Brut Tysilio* [52] and in the *Triads* the name is Rhitta. As the *Brut Tysilio* is a Welsh rendering of Geoffrey's *Historia* the translator must have understood Rhitta to represent Geoffrey's *Rithonem.*

There certainly seems to be some connection between the forms *Rhita* and *Rithonem* and the names undoubtedly belong to the same person. As Wace's *Riton* would derive from the Latin accusative, *Rithonem,* and would give *Rion* by loss of intervocalic *t,* phonologically *Rion, Riton,* and *Rithonem* are the same name. A

[50] Britain. *See* Loth, J., *Mabinogion,* I, 242.

[51] *Mab.* II, 289 f. Three severe regulations for the island of Prydein. The third is that of Rhitta Gawr the giant who made for himself a mantle of beards of kings. He had them flayed off to punish the kings for oppression and injustice. The *Triads* which are late (see *Mab.* II, 302) are evidently trying here to reconcile the two rather contradictory sides of Rhita, brought out in the earlier story.

[52] Translated into German by San Marte, and published in the volume containing the *HRB* 475 ff. It was made from the English translation by Rev. Peter Roberts, the *Chronicle of the kings of Britain* in "Collectanea Cambrica" 1811, repub. by M. Pope as *A History of the kings of ancient Britain,* 1862. *See* Fletcher, *op. cit.* 117 and nn., and San Marte *HRB* LXIX.

comparison of the episodes in which the characters Rithon-em, Riton, Rhita, figure shows that they are the same person. It now remains to see whether Crestien's Rion, whose name is identical with *Ritho-n-em, Riton* is also the same person.

Crestien tries to show that Rion was a formidable enemy of Arthur's, since his downfall brings such evident rejoicing. If we return to the *Brut* passage we note, that never before Arthur encountered Riton did he meet with a foe of such valor, and never before did he have such fear of an opponent. Arthur's satisfaction as noted by Crestien is a natural consequence of the king's state of feeling as described by Wace.

2. *The location of Rion's realm.* The problem of locating Rion's realm, involves bringing into some sort of agreement the testimony of the different versions regarding the whereabouts of the giant's kingdom, habitation, or place of combat.[53] The task seems well-nigh Herculean since it is not at all certain that the chroniclers and romancers themselves knew exactly what they were talking about. Consequently there has been a great deal of speculation over the matter, with no satisfactory results. Indeed the results are bound to be unsatisfactory even when based solely on the texts, because the readings are in several cases far from clear.

The *Conte du Graal* (830) calls Rion *li rois des Isles.* Where are these islands? In the Celtic story Rhita is king of Wales.[54] Geoffrey has the battle take place *in Aravio Monte.*

The first edition of the *HRB* by Ascenius, Paris, 1508, reads *Aram-* in both places where the name occurs: the prophecies of Merlin VII, iii (where it has nothing to do with the Rion story)

[53] For lack of evidence to the contrary we may assume that these are one and the same, unless we except the *Chevalier as deus espees,* and even there it is not clear that the combat is not fought in Ris's realm. *Ch. as Deus Espees, ed., Foerster, Halle,* 1877, p. 68.

[54] Rhŷs. *Celtic Folklore,* 563, says: "Rhita is not said, it is true, to have been a Gwoydel (Goidel) but he is represented as ruling over Ireland [The story as Rhŷs tells it does not show this], and his name . . . is not Welsh." Earlier (pp. 474-9), he says that the giant Rhita, Ritta, Ricca Gawr, the name is variously spelt, was, according to a well known tradition, buried on Mount Snowden. But as the earliest record of this tradition is 1420 ca. (Rhŷs, p. 474) no one can tell whether the unwritten tradition goes much further back or not, hence the story cannot be trusted to throw light on the situation of Rhita's habitation or battle ground. The name *Ricca* occurs in the *Mabinogion,* 107, when it is merely mentioned, and *Rita,* as a place name is found five times in the *Book of Llan Dav.* (Rhŷs, 478). San Marte, *HRB* 403 tells a story found in the Mabinogi of *Kulhwch and Olwen* which he calls "ein ziemlich ähnliches Abenthurer" to the Rhita story. The gist of the tale is that Kay and Bedver pull out the beard of the giant Dillus Varwawc, in order to make a rope with which to hold a certain Drudwyn. This episode may show the effect of the Rhita tale. *See* p. 96, this study.

and in the Rion episode X, iii (San Marte, 347, 405). These two forms seem to have puzzled Brugger *ZfS* XXVII, 103, n. 57: "Wir wissen eben noch nicht was der mons Aramus (Aravius) bedeutet." San Marte locates the mountain in Merionethshire (405) "Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich das Arranvawigebirge in Merionethshire dessen höchsten Gipfel, Arran Fawddy, 983 Fuss über die Meeresflache sich erhebt."

This looks as though he inclined to the form *Aram-*. The occurrence of the two forms can be explained as a paleographic confusion, *Aramo-Aravio.*[55] Which then was the form used by Geoffrey? A comparison of the MSS readings would be of service here, but the MSS are not at present available. In the meantime it would be well to observe how Geoffrey's translators understood the name. The *Brut* reads *El mont d'Araive. Araive* would derive regularly from *Aravio.* The two variants cited by the editor are "mont de Rave" (MS du Roi, 73 Cangé) and "mont d' Artane" (MS de l'Ars, 171, BL): *de Rave* could be explained as a paleographic error, the *a* of Araive becoming joined to the preposition *de,* and then being written as *e. Artane* is not so easily explained.

As far as the form of the word is concerned the evidence offered by Wace is in favor of *Araive - Aravio,* but this evidence cannot be trusted implicitly. It is unfortunate that the best MS of the *Brut* (Additional 32125, Brit. Museum) is still unpublished.[56]

It was this MS or one like it, according to Imelmann, which Laȝamon must have used since his readings of proper names are generally better than those of the text of Wace's *Brut.* Laȝamon's *Brut,* extant in two MSS, renders the name as follows: MS *A*:[57] "Munte of Rauinte"; *B*:[58] "Monte of Ravin."

*A,* Imelmann says, is older, but *B* is, on the whole, more correct (*op. cit.* 12.) especially in respect to proper names. Both readings, however, are in favor of the *v*(*u*) form rather than that

[55] A glance at the editor's note on this name, *Brut* II, p. 158, shows that he evidently had before him no other reading of the *H R B* than "in Aramo monte."

[56] *See* Imelmann *Laȝamon, Versuch über seine Quellen,* Berlin, 1906, 18. Possibly the *Brut,* which apparently once stood between Wace's and Laȝamon's *Bruts,* might have shed some light on this difficulty. Cf. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances,* Carnegie Institute Pub., 1909, vol. I, p. xxii.

[57] Cott. Calig. A, IX.

[58] Cott. Otho C. XIX, Brit. Museum. The MSS are ed. by Sir Frederick Madden and printed in parallel columns, London, 1847, III, p. 37.

with *m*. *Ravin* would represent Wace's variant, *Rave,* which we saw probably goes back to *Araive.* In view of this evidence, then we may, for the present, accept the Latin *Aravio* rather than *Aramo* as Geoffrey's original form. The Welsh translation of the *Historia,* the *Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur* renders Geoffrey's "in Aravio" by Eryri.[59] Rhŷs says that by this the translator understood *Aravio* to mean Snowden, in North West Wales. This view is supported by the fact that in the *Prophecies of Merlin* (*HRB* VII, iii) where Aravio occurs it is immediately followed by the name of Wales.

Thomas,[60] who calls the giant Orguillus, has him dwelling in Africa, and traveling as far as the marches of his realm to do battle with Arthur. This change of name and location[61] seems odd since as Professor Bédier says:[62] "Il [Thomas] avait sous les yeux, quand il rimait cet episode, *La Geste as Bretons* de Wace." Professor Bédier offers no explanation. Since Thomas has changed both the name and abode of the giant, his testimony may now be excluded. Crestien could not have borrowed his allusion from the *Tristan* because he uses the name found in Geoffrey and Wace, and does not tell the story, while Thomas tells the story, but under entirely different names.

On referring again to the *Perceval* passage we see that a few lines before Rion's name is introduced, Arthur is at Carduel, a castle situated on the sea (821). Perceval will find him glad (823) because he has vanquished Rion of the Isles. This implies that Arthur has come freshly from the combat. The connection of Carduel with the Rion episode recalls the fact that the beard story is told in the *Chevalier as Deus Espees,*[63] an Arthurian romance

[59] *The text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed., Rhŷs and Evans, Oxford, 1890, 213; *Celtic Folklore*, 562.

[60] *Tristan*, ed., *Bédier*, I, v. 716.

[61] As far as I know, there seems to be no precedent, popular or literary, for associating Arthur with Africa. Acc. to Geoffrey & Wace he at no time went further east than the Alps, *HRB* X, xiii; *B* 13419.

[62] I, 289, note.

[63] Among the later romances the episode occurs in the following: Robt. de Borron, *Merlin* (Paris, P.) II 192, 318; Huth *Merlin* (Paris, G.) "La Soc. des Ancient textes" I, 202; Wheatley's *Merlin*, II, 617; Malory *Morte d'Arthur*, vol. I, BK I, 74, II, 75; *Morte d'Arthure*, an Eng. poem, (date 1440) Ed., G. G. Perry, London, 1865. The cyclic romances show such modification of the original tale in the way of additions and inconsistencies that it is not worth while to bring them into the discussion, for they would only complicate without helping a problem already sufficiently involved.

of unknown authorship, dated by Foerster[64] before the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus it is not too late to be of service here, and in fact, is of positive importance when we remember that this story is an excellent example of Crestien's influence on succeeding romancers and that it stands especially close to the *Conte du Graal*.[65a] It may show how one of Crestien's imitators understood this passage. In this romance the name of the king (he does not appear to be a giant) is Ris. This form seems to be the usual old French nominative to an accusative such as *Ritonem*.[65b] His epithet is *d'outre ombre* (across the Humber), 208; he is called also *"le roi de Noronbellande"* (9253). At the time that he sends his insulting message to Arthur he is engaged in besieging a vassal of Arthur's, the Queen of Garadigan (261) or Caradigan (2540, 2579). The honor of the combat with Ris,[66] here transferred for technical purposes from Arthur to the *Chevalier as Deus Espées* occurs:

2132 En la forest . . . . . .
De Cardueil

or rather:

2141 De la forest en une lande
Loins montant as liues d' Irelande
Demie liue, et ie coisi
Par desous un tertre. . . . . .

The names, Carduel and Caradigan require some explanation. It is generally agreed[67] that Carduel is Carlisle in Cumberland.

[64] p. XXXII.

[65a] *See* Thedens, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 12 ff.

[65b] Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Altfrz. Gram.* 8, § 289.

[66] The Wauchier continuation of the *Conte del Graal* (Potvin, III, 13481) tells of a certain *Ris de Volen, une lande Les Carlion de bois enclose.* He is an opponent of King Cadovalant's in a tourney at Arthur's court. Brugger *ZfS* XXV, (1903) 106, n. 57 identifies him with Ris d'outre Ombre. As there is absolutely nothing to go on but the *Ris*, I do not agree to this identification. Ris de Volen is not connected with Arthur and he is not hunting beards. It may be said in answer to this that neither is Crestien's Rion hunting beards. But Crestien's Rion is a foe of Arthur's and his name is identical with that of the giant in the *HRB* and the *Bruts* of Wace and Lazamon. One would scarcely be likely to connect even Ris d'outre Ombre with the beard hunter if we had nothing to go on but the name *Ris*.

[67] Brugger *ZfS* XX, 122, n. 52; "large" *Erec*, 298, n. Later, *E*, 2nd ed. 1909, Foerster seems uncertain; see gloss., *Carduel;* Hertz, *Spielmanns Buch*, Stuttgart, 2nd ed. 1906, 370 ff.; Lot, *Rom.* XXVII, 554; XXVIII, 31; Loth, *RC* XIII, 499. For explanation of the form *Carduel* see Brugger and Loth, *loc. cit.* and Zimmer, *GGA* I (1890) 525, who agree that it arose from the confusion of Carloil (Carlisle) and Carlion, but that it means *Carlisle*. The Carlion of the romances is believed to be the present Carlion in Monmouthshire near the border of Wales. *Comp.* Henry of Huntington ("Master of the Rolls" 7)

Cardigan is much less certain. Foerster, (Large *"E,"* 298) seems to agree with Zimmer that it is not to be identified with the present town of Cardigan, in Cardigan county, Wales. Zimmer goes further (*GGA* I (1890) 595 ff.) and suggests that Cardigan, Caradigan is a corruption of Kaer Agned (Edinborough)[68] the mountain, Agned of Nennius's battle.[69] "Could not," he says, "Karadigan be a corruption of Kaer Agned just as Kar-duel is a corruption of Kaer Luel?" The testimony of the *Chevalier as Deus Espees,* while it does not show the coincidence of Caradigan with Edinborough, at least supports the theory of a northern location.

Crestien's use of Carlion,[70] with two exceptions, either agrees with the general theories or throws no light on the subject at all. These exceptions are *Carduel en Gales,* already discussed and Carlion-Carduel in the *Perceval.* Early in the story Arthur is established at Carduel (817), but later we find him, without any explanation for the change, holding court at Carlion (3965) and swearing:

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*"Kairlion* quam vocamus Carleuil." It is thus that B. and L. explain Crestien's puzzling *Carduel en Gales, Yvain,* 7.

Foerster, "Large *Yvain,*" n. to v. 7 thinks Crestien understood *Gales* here to mean the whole territory formerly occupied by the Britons, but it is not always safe to base upon Crestien's or any other romancer's geographical or historical knowledge. The phrase *Carduel en Gales* occurs in the chronicles of both Jean le Bel and Froissart who speak of it as a castle once occupied by Arthur and who locate it on the river Tyne. The expression may not be significant here but may only have been carried over from the romancers. *See Les Vrayes Chroniques de Messire Jean le Bel,* pub., Polain, Brussels. 1863 I, 46; and *Le Chronique de Jean Froissart,* Ed., S. Luce, Paris, 1869, II, 51. Evidence for the northern locality of Carduel is found in the lay of *Lanval* by Marie de France.

5 A Kardoil surjurnot li reis
Arthur, li pruz e li curteis,
Pur les Escoz e pur les Pis
Qui destruieient le païs.
En (la) terre de Loengre entroent
E mult suvent le damajoent.
A la Pentecuste en esté
I aveit li reis surjurné

Carlisle answers exactly to this description. Stuart Glennie, *Arthurian Localities,* in Wheatley's Merlin (*EETS*) I, CIV, speaks of Carleon on the Dee as Chester, and of Kaerliun as Dumbarton, the Urbs Legionis of Nennius's ninth battle. Possibly *urbs legionis* was a common name for any fortified place.

[68] See Skene, *Celtic Scotland* I, 240. Comp. p. 141 & n. 15 of this study.

[69] Fletcher, *op. cit.* 16; Giles, *op. cit.* 409 and n.

[70] *Carlion* (*L* 31) doubtless means the Monmouthshire Carlion since the geography of the *Charrete* is generally southern (see pp. 50 ff.). *Caradigan* occurs only in *Erec* 28, 249, 1032, 1088, 1519, but there is no clue as to its location. These names are not found in *Cligès.*

4096 Par Monseignor saint Davi
Que l'an aore e prie an Gales.

The description of *Carduel sor mer assis* certainly distinguishes this place from Carlion.[71a] And *Gales* and *Saint Davi* certainly identify Carlion with the Monmouthshire town, but how account for the change from Carduel when there has been no word about the removal of the court? This apparent discrepancy can be explained by observing Crestien's seeming carelessness[71b] in handling the names of Arthur's residences. The poet seldom accounts for the king's moves and still less frequently motives them. He places Arthur, in the same romance, now in one castle or town, now in another with little or no attempt to give a reason for the change. Therefore we cannot prove confusion of names in the passage under discussion where Crestien is apparently indifferent as to which residence or how many residences he may assign to Arthur in the course of a single story.[72]

To return to the identification of Rion's realm, since the author of the *Chevalier as Deus Espees* locates the combat with Rion a half league from the forest of Carduel it is highly probable that he got the idea of Carduel, as a point of departure, from Crestien.[73] He did not get it from Wace, as we know, although he used Wace for his story.[74] Hence he must have understood from the *Perceval* passage that the combat occurred near Carduel, and also that Rion's realm was not far from this city; therefore he makes Ris king of Northumberland. He certainly got no hint of this from Wace, nor apparently from any other of his sources.[75] Therefore

[71a] Loth, *RC* XVI (1895) 87, remarks that the estuaries such as the Firth of Forth or of Clyde were often designated as the sea, esp. by Bede. This may explain *Carduel sor mer.*

[71b] Exceptions are *Cligès*, where Arthur's moves are fully accounted for and *Perceval* 8853, where Crestien says that at Pentecost the court will be held at Orcanee, a promise which he carries out (9065, 9127, 9155).

[72] See *Erec* 28, 249, 284, 1032, 1088, 1519 ff., 5282, 6414; *Yvain* 7, 2170 ff., 2680; *Perceval* 334, 2694, 2715, 4117. Note the distinction observed by Gerbert (Potvin VI, p. 206). Three bishops officiate at the wedding of Blanchefleur and Perceval: *"L'uns fu li vesques de Cardueil Et l'autres de Caradigan—E li vesques de Carlion."* *Carlion* occurs a number of times in Wace's *Brut* 3244, 3248, 3253, 10461, 16058, 14264, etc. *Carlisle* occurs there but once, 1637, Kaërléil. There is no evidence of confusion in the Brut.

[73] See p. 73 and Thedens *op. cit.*, 14.

[74] Thedens, 93. Since he used Wace this probably explains his "tertre" 2144, a survival of Wace's "Mont d'Araive."

[75] Thedens, *op. cit.*

it is possible that Crestien's islands, if they are not works of the imagination, were thought to lie somewhere off the coast of Cumberland; or, if we follow the testimony of the *Gruffydd ab Arthur* (p. 72, this study) somewhere off the coast of North Wales; though, as a matter of fact there are no islands in these localities that would very well fit the case.

The discussion of this geographical question must inevitably have shown that with mediaeval historians and romancers, especially the latter, geography seems to be an uncertain quantity. We are not yet sure that Geoffrey understood his in *Aravio Monte;* Wace is no help in the matter for he here renders Geoffrey literally and without elaboration; neither do we get any assistance from Laȝamon. Perhaps both Thomas and Crestien departed from their original at this point for the simple reason that it was a puzzle to them. The true relation between Carlion, Carduel and Caradigan of the romances is still unproved. The only definite conclusion we can reach is that the collective evidence points in a general way to a northern locality. We cannot make the various habitations of the beard hunter coincide, and it is not necessary that we should. There is sufficient similarity between the different stories to show their relation without forcing this coincidence.

There are one or two other matters still to bring forward. Why did Crestien make Rion particularly a *roi des Isles* when he apparently had no precedent for so doing? There are two possible answers to this question. (1) Crestien has established Arthur at Carduel *sor mer.* This may have suggested making Rion king of the islands of the sea. (2) We may recall in the very adventure in which the Rion episode is related, that Arthur vanquishes the giant of the island, Mont Saint-Michel. Crestien could not have known one story without the other, hence the Dinabuc adventure may have given him the idea of making Rion an island king. Again, if Crestien had the Riton episode before him why did he allude to it only in this brief fashion? He is thus unique, for every one before and after him who has used the incident tells the whole story. For an answer one must go to Crestien's technique. It is not his habit to relate anecdotes about Arthur. Arthur is always, except in *Cligès,* a background figure. Moreover, the first half of *Conte du Graal* is told with a good deal of directness.

Crestien is here interested in the psychology of his hero, he is just about to present Perceval at the court; to stop at this point and relate an adventure about Arthur, already past, would be bad art. The author of the *Chevalier as Deus Espees* has used the Rion story as a motif that occupies most of the first part of the romance. The chroniclers, whose duty is was to celebrate the achievements of Arthur, had a good reason for making much of the story. Therefore Crestien need not be considered unusual because he chose to dismiss Rion with a mere reference.

The original question has now been answered: namely, the source of Crestien's allusion. We have seen that it could not come from Thomas, that it is not likely to have come from tradition because Geoffrey of Monmouth appears to be the first to associate the Rhita story with Arthur. Hence Arthur's combat with Rion must be a literary transmission and according to the evidence heretofore presented (pp. 5 ff.) that Crestien made his borrowings from Wace and not from Geoffrey, the reference in the *Conte du Graal* probably owes its origin to the *Roman de Brut*.

## Chapter III

### *Characters*

Few of Crestien's characters can be shown to owe their being solely to the *Roman de Brut;* some of his most distinguished figures do not appear in the pages of the chronicle at all. But in spite of the presence of features not traceable to the *Brut,* and of origins impossible to determine, there are certain lesser figures and certain traits in leading characters for which Wace may be considered responsible. It is curious that the two distinct classes of Arthurian figures, historic and romantic, extensive as they both are, possess but few characters in common. The following table indicates those found in the *Historia,* the *Brut* and Crestien's romances.

| *H* | *B* | *C* |
|---|---|---|
| Auguselus,[1] IX, ix ff. | Aguisel, 9856 ff. | Aguisiaus, *E* 1970 |
| Arturus, VIII, xix ff. | Artur, 8966 ff.<br>Artus[3] | Artus - Artu[2] |
| Beduerus, IX, ii ff. | Beduer -ier-iers-oer | Beduiers, *E* 1735 |
| Bladud, II, viii, x | Bladus, 1667<br>Bladud, 1681 ff. | Baudemaguz,<br>Bademaguz,[4] *L* 645 ff. |
| Cadvallo-n-em, XII, i, ff. | Cadvalan<br>Cadualan, 14447 | Cadovalanz, *E* 315, 6816 |
| Cajus, Cheudo, IX, xi, ff. | Kex, 10411 ff.<br>Kei, 12996 | Ke<br>Keus, Kew, *E L Y P* |
| Eventus,[5] XI, i | Yvains, 10522<br>Ivain, 13600 | Yvains<br>Yvain, *E L* (?)[6] *Y P* |
| G(u)anhumara, IX, x ff. | Genièvre, 9882 | Ganievre[7]<br>Guenievere |
| Hiderus, XIV, v | Yder, 12336, 12346 | Yder, *E* 1046 ff. |
| Igerna, VII, xix, xx | Ygerne, 8799 ff. | Ygerne, *P* 8706 |
| Lot,[8] VIII, xxi ff. | Lot, 9056 ff. | Lot, *E* 1737, *L* 6267, *P* 8099, 8715 |
| Merlinus, VI, xvii ff. | Merlin,[9] 7555 | Merlin, *E* 6693 |

[1] On the name see Brugger, *ZfS* XXVIII, 17.

[2] When the name occurs in all the five romances, the titles of the romances are omitted.

[3] On the name see Zimmer, *GGA* 1890, 818 n. 1; 830, n. 2. Both forms used indifferently for nom. & acc. *Arturs* "Large *E*," 1992, and p. 312, n.

[4] See pp. 56 ff.

[5] On the name, see Zimmer *GGA* (1890) 798, 818, n. 1; *ZfS* XII, 233; Loth, *RC* XIII, (1892) 493; Lot, *Rom.* XXV (1896) 1; Bédier, *Rev. de deux mondes* (Oct. 5, 1891) 848, n. 1; Rhŷs, *Hibbard Lectures,* London, 1892, 63.

[6] See p. 98, n. 68.

[7] Not mentioned by name in *C* & *P*.

[8] On the name see Loth, *RC* XVI (1895) 84; Rhŷs, *op. cit.*, 125 ff.

[9] See *Brut* I, p. 352, n. *c*. On the name see Zimmer, *ZfS* XII, 253.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Modredus, Modedrius | IX, ix ff. | Mordret, 11452 ff.<br>Nut, 12336 | Angrès, *C* 431 ff.<br>Nut, *E* 1046, 1213, 6819, *P* 4683?[10] |
| | | Pandragon, 7767<br>Riton, 11958 | Pandragon, *E* 1811<br>Rion, *P* 829 |
| Ritho-n-em, X, iii | | Urien, 9856 | Uriien *E Y P* |
| Urianus, IX, ix, xii; XI, i | | (Uter)pendragon | Uterpandragon, |
| Utherpendragon, VI, v ff. | | I, 6597 ff.; II 8431 ff.<br>Gawain(s), 9057 ff. | *Y* 663, *P* 425, 8704 |
| Walgannus,[11] Walguainus, Walganius, IX, x ff. | | W(V)alw(v)ains | Gauvain(s) |

*Erec* = 14 characters
*Cligès* = 4 "
*Lancelot* = 6-7 "
*Yvain* = 7 "
*Perceval* = 10-11 "

Examination of the table shows the following facts:

1. Some of Crestien's most prominent figures are absent from the chronicles: Erec, Lancelot, Perceval, Sagremor.

2. Yvain, one of Crestien's chief heroes, is mentioned but once by Geoffrey and but twice by Wace.

3. Gawain, together with the king and queen, appears in every romance.

4. More of these characters are found in *Erec* than in any of the other romances.

Crestien's evident independence of Wace in character portrayal is not at all surprising when we consider (1) that many of these characters must have come into the French romances through channels other than the chronicles; (2) that the mere difference between historical and romantic technique would be sufficient to divide Crestien from Wace in the actual presentation of character; (3) Crestien's individuality; for in the conception and portrayal of character he is often unique.

The figures traceable wholly or in part to the *Brut* are:

*Aguisel.* Aguisel receives but one brief mention from Crestien (*E* 1970) where he is listed among the guests at the wedding of Erec and Enide: *Vint Aguisiaus li rois d'Escoçe.* In the chronicles, Aguisel is a great figure. He is brother to Urien and Lot, and like them is re-established by Arthur in his ancestral domain (*B* 9854). He is a coronation guest (*B* 10516) and gives counsel to Arthur concerning the message of the Roman emperor (*B* 11235). He commands troops in the last battle with the Romans

[10] See p. 102, n. 73.

[11] On the name see *HL* XXX, 29, n. 1; Zimmer, *GGA*, 1890, 818 n., 830 n. 2.

(*B* 12761) and falls in the war with Modred (*B* 13549). Wace's only addition to the *Historia* account is that Arthur was much grieved over the death of Aguisel.[12] The appearance of Aguisel's name in *Erec* in the passage already shown to be possibly indebted to Wace, (p. 23) coupled with the verbal similarity of the line in *Erec* to the corresponding line in the Brut (10519) points rather clearly to the origin of Crestien's reference.[13]

*Arthur.* The personality of the historical[14] Arthur, arising from obscure beginnings in the meager account of Nennius,[15] grew slowly in the hands of succeeding chronicles[16] until on reaching Geoffrey of Monmouth it appears as a highly elaborated and finished study. The Arthur of the *Historia* is a combination of the barbaric chief and the Christian emperor. At the early age of fifteen he showed such unparalleled strength and liberality, such innate grace and goodness as to win the love of all (IX, i). His generosity is a constant note. At his first coronation he won many a follower by his distribution of gifts (IX, i, xii). During his conquest of Gaul even the enemy, dazzled by his munificence, deserted to him in great numbers. (IX, xi) His freedom in giving at the grand coronation was unprecedented even among potentates. All noble deeds he rewards lavishly (IX, xi, xiv; X, iv). In war he displays such strategic skill and personal magnetism as to draw men after him into the conflict (IX, iii, iv; X, vi, xi). He shows veneration of religious institutions, by carrying the image of the Virgin into battle, IX, iv) and by having himself crowned a second time partly to observe Pentecost the more solemnly (IX, xii). When the Scots make an appeal to him for their lives in the name of the Saints' relics and the Host, moved to tears, he freely pardons them (IX, vi). He is shrewd in argument and eloquent

[12] In the *Brut Tysilio* (tr. San Marte) *Aguisel* is *Arawn*, son of Cynvarch, 549, and according to the *Myv. Arch.* he was one of Arthur's three wise counsellors (Loth. *Mab.* II, 2). Perhaps this last detail shows the influence of Geoffrey on the *Triads.* Aguisel in the *HRB* is one of Arthur's counsellors (IX, xviii.) *See* Loth, *Mab.* II, 202.

[13] Lot, *Rom.* XXVII (1898) 555, is also of this opinion.

[14] For theories concerning the mythical Arthur see Rhŷs, *Studies* in *Arthurian Legend,* Oxford, 1891.

[15] Then Arthur fought against them [the Saxons] in those days, together with the kings of the Britons, but he himself was leader in the battles (dux bellorum) [Battles enumerated] the twelfth on Mount Badon, when Arthur alone in one day killed nine hundred and sixty men; and in all the battles he was victor. Fletcher, *op. cit.,* 15.

[16] See p. 3.

in appeal (IX, xvi; X, vii, xi). He generously recognizes the support of his retainers in war (X, vii); he makes wise appointments to his dependencies (IX, ix, xi); he loves Gawain as a son and cannot be consoled at his death [17] (XI, ii).

Although the nobility of Arthur's character is constantly apparent, at the same time he possesses traits that might grace a Tamburlaine. Armed, he presents a figure terrible in aspect; broken faith he punishes with instant death (IX, iii); invading foes he treats with unparalleled severity (IX, v. vi). He wars with the ferocity of a lion whether in general fight or in single combat, and by working himself up into a rage he seems to increase his physical strength (IX, iv, xi). He glories in the chance for single combat, (IX, xi) and if the advantage is not soon apparent, he becomes vexed, furious, and lays on with added violence until he is victor (X, iii). Alone, he slays the great giant of Mont Saint-Michel, and at the horrible sight of the fallen monster, bursts into a fit of laughter (X, iii). Inspired by the greatness of his name, men flock from all quarters to swell his immense army, and kingdom after kingdom falls a prey to his all embracing ambition until Rome itself, unable to withstand the fury of his onslaught, suffers shameful defeat (IX, x, xi; X, xi). He is not only invincible in war but irresistible as the center of his court (IX, xi, xiii). He fights the Saxons that he may enrich his followers with their wealth, and build up such a court as the world had not then seen (IX, i; IX, xiii)—the model for fashion and chivalry, for courtesy and largess, the gathering place of gallant knights and beautiful women (IX, xiii). In the eyes of Geoffrey, the Arthur whom he has thus depicted is an ideal figure, the union of every martial, chivalric, and Christian virtue, a great soldier, a great king, and a great man. His rage in war and cruelty to foes are but necessary factors in the make up of the national hero of early times.

In what way does Wace add to or modify Geoffrey's presentation? In the main, the character is developed on the same general plan, yet the whole conception is gentler.[18] Wace's picture of the youthful prince on his coming into power is worthy the emulation of a messire Gawain.

[17] His grief is more apparent in the *Brut* 13506, 13551. See pp. 37, 110 & n. 101 *b*; 112.

[18] Cp. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 137.

*B* 9247 Jovenciaus esteit de quinze ans
De sun aage forz e granz.
Les teces Artus vus dirai,
Neiant ne vus en mentirai:
Chevaliers fu mult vertuus,
Mult preisanz e mult glorius.
Cuntre orgoillus fu orgoillus
E cuntre humle dolz e pitus
Forz e hardiz e cunquerranz.[19]
E se besuignus le requist,
S' aidier li pout, ne l'escundist
Mult ama pris, mult ama gloire,
Mult volt sun fait metre en memoire;
Servir se fist curteisement
E mult se maintint noblement
Tant cum il vesqui e regna,
Tuz autres princes surmunta
De curteisie e de pruësce
E de valur e de largesce.

Arthur wars with the Saxons not from a motive of self agrandizement, but in the just desire to avenge the death of his father and his uncle. Wace makes no mention of Arthur's anger over the slow progress of the battle of Bath Hill; he treats briefly Arthur's repulse of the king of Ireland who came to aid the Scots (9690), but he details very fully, the Scots' petition for money and Arthur's willingness to pardon them (9700). Wace emphasizes more strongly than Geoffrey, Arthur's desire to give his vassals their share of glory in his conquests (11059). In Gaul he wins followers not only through his bounty but *Tant pur sun sagement parler Tant pur la noblesce de lui Tant por paür, tant pur refui* (10208). In Flanders and in Boulogne he conducts his army with great prudence and does not lay waste the country as he does in the *Historia* (10149). Geoffrey has Arthur in the battle with the

[19] The absence of rime here shows that a line has been omitted, whether from the editor's text or from the MS we cannot tell. The context of line 9255 points to an omission before it rather than after it.

Romans slay a man and a horse at every blow. Wace omits the slaying of horses.[20] (*H* X, xi, xxvi. *B* 13298).

If Arthur has here lost the traits of the barbaric chief, he is none the less glorious as the imperial champion of chivalry. His courage is no whit diminished because it is shorn of ferocity. These ruder characteristics are replaced in the *Brut* by a certain naive egotism. As a youth, *mult vuelt sun fait metre en memoire* (9259). Later, he has himself crowned not to observe Pentecost the more solemnly, (*H* IX, xii) but *Pur ses richesces demustrer, Et pur faire de lui parler* (10455); and his battle cry is:

13283 Jo sui Artur qui vus condui,
Qui pur hume de champ ne fui.

In spite of such ingenuous egotism, Wace's Arthur is a refinement of Geoffrey's hero, and is a conception essentially chivalric.

In the Chronicles Arthur dominates the whole of the Arthurian period; even Gawain is decidedly inferior in importance. It is Arthur himself who extends his empire from the islands of the far North to the Alps on the Southeast. It is Arthur for whom the magnificent coronation is held. Hoel, Gawain, Kay, Bedver may perform prodigies of valor in the Roman war, but it is Arthur who at the dramatic moment rushes in, and by his personal magnetism and sheer physical might saves the day to the glory of Britain and the shame of Rome.

The attitude of the early metrical romancers towards Arthur is totally different. The cause of this difference lies partly in romantic technique.[21] The great dramatic theme of Arthurian romance is the struggle on the king's part to keep his knights about him, and on the knights' part to go to seek adventure. The result is always the same; the knights go and Arthur remains.[22] The hero is either an Arthurian knight already well known, such as Lancelot or Gawain whom some motive draws away from the court at the beginning of the story, or he is an untried youth such

[20] Fletcher *op. cit.* 138, remarks that the injuring of horses was not in accordance with the laws of chivalry. Horses, however, were not equipped with protective armor until the thirteenth century, Schultz, *op. cit.*, II, 100.

Cp. *Yvain* 855-860 where Crestien says that the combatants were careful not to wound their horses.

[21] See p. 48, and pp. 133 ff.

[22] *Erec* 2282, 4233, 6416, 6495, *Cligès* 5082, *Lancelot* 89 ff., *Yvain* 2476 ff., *Perceval* 832, 4040, 4095, 9184.

as Alexander or Perceval, attracted to the court in the hope of winning a name, and lured off as soon as he has made a reputation. Given such conditions, the position of the romance Arthur is inevitable. His function is to keep intact a brilliant following. He is no longer an active figure.[23] In the romances of Crestien he rarely moves except among his royal residences. Already the ruler of an empire, his might is established and he is disturbed only by private enemies. At least once a dull echo reaches us of past battles (*P* 819)—but in the world of these early romances Arthur rarely lifts a sword.

In *Erec* Arthur appears as the pattern of a king and knight, ruling in the full consciousness of divine right and the responsibilities of a crown (*E* 59, 1769). He loves his retainers,[24] his treatment of women is highly chivalric,[25] and he speaks sensibly (307). He displays great largess at Erec's marriage and coronation, and in the latter ceremony, takes an active part.[26] The only other occupation in which he seems to engage is the chase at which he is found on two occasions (36, 3942). The splendor of his court is mentioned six times.[27]

It is interesting to note that *Cligès,* the romance most closely related to the *Brut,* should present Arthur very much in the rôle of the historical figure. Here and only here is Arthur portrayed in the two-fold capacity of king and soldier; as the center of an illustrious court and as a leader in military expeditions. Notwithstanding the fact that he has two heroes to manage, Crestien for once breaks the bonds of his technique and allows Arthur to assume a little of his pristine activity. His greatness and fame are mentioned eight times [28] and much more emphatically than in *Erec.* His generosity is given great emphasis.[29] Affairs of state enter in: Arthur makes a visit across the sea to his province of Brittany where he is received with joy.[30] While he is there, word comes of the revolt of Angrès to whom he had intrusted the gov-

[23] Cp. "Large *E*" XXXIV, XXXVIII; *E*, 2nd ed. XVII, Zimmer *GGA* I (1890) 523 ff.

[24] 308, 1545, 4233, 4299.

[25] 341, 1549, 1751, 1830.

[26] 2015, 2060, 6661, 6560, 6733, 6810, 6953.

[27] 28, 652, 1518, 1691, 3883, 6416.

[28] 69, 115, 150, 310, 1093, 2603, 4255, 5026.

[29] 1450, 1532, 2425.

[30] 422, 438, *See* p. 119 of this study.

ernment of Britain during his absence (1053). Arthur's anger throughout this episode, culminating in his own proposition that the traitors as punishment should be *ecartelé* [31] is worthy of the epic rage of the chronicle Arthur. Again, at the very close of the romance he raises an armament to sail against the Emperor of Constantinople (6682). The fact that Arthur is thus prominent in a narrative already encumbered with two heroes offers further evidence in favor of Crestien's indebtedness to the *Brut* for the Arthurian portions of the *Cligès* (p. 48).

The Arthur of *Charrete* presents so marked a contrast to the Arthur of *Cligès* that he seems scarcely to be the same person. His greatness receives but one feeble and passing notice, and even that, in the non-Crestien portion (6711). He is practically never in the foreground.[32] He has become a weakling like the degenerate Charlemagne.[33] He lets Meliaganz insult him (60, 6174) and Kay outwit him (84 ff.). Angered and grieved (184) he gives up Guinevere to the seneschal and lets the two ride away without lifting a hand to arrest them. Arthur is here sacrificed to the more important interests of the story.[34] The motif takes the chief actors away from the court at once, and keeps them distant nearly the whole time. Arthur is a mere point of departure.

Arthur's rôle in the *Yvain* is again small, but at least it allows him to appear in reinstated dignity. Here as in *Erec* his chivalric virtues are emphasized: courtesy, prowess (1, 2373), and the reputation of being *li rois et li sire Des rois et seignors del monde* (2370).

In the *Perceval* he resumes somewhat the personality of the *Charrete* Arthur. His fame has spread far and wide;[35] he is graced with the virtues of charity, gentleness, justice, but he is a very sober figure throughout. He is vexed at the behavior of his

[31] 1442. These lines may show the influence of the *Roland* 3960, even though this was a common method of putting traitors to death, for Crestien calls Angrès a traitor *qui est pire de Guenelon* (1076).

[32] In fact the scene is at the court but three times and remains there but a brief period: 31, 5320, 6750.

[33] *La Chanson de Roland*, 46, 690, 3711; *Le Couronnement de Louis*, ed., E. Langlois, Paris, 1888.

[34] This is a good instance of the incongruity of material in the Lancelot. Arthur's dignity is sacrificed to the demands of an other-world prince who is however represented as a mortal being. To the king of the dead even Arthur would naturally yield, but to a rude interloper named Meliaganz of the land of Gorre, Arthur's submissiveness is out of place.

[35] 425, 818, 2794, 8082, 8130.

vassals (820), melancholy over the depredations of the Red Knight (886, 919), unmoved by Perceval's rude entrance (909), constantly irritated by Kay over whom he seems to have no control,[36] and sad and pensive over the long absence of Gawain (9184). As in the *Charrete* he is subordinated to greater interests, but the cause for such depreciation is less apparent here than in the *Lancelot*.

This inconsistency in the presentation of Arthur's character seems to indicate more than one source of influence. Exactly what originals Crestien used for his conception of Arthur besides Wace's history it is not easy to determine. Perhaps the inactive Arthur has been affected in some measure by the degenerate Charlemagne of the epics, but there is still another possibility. On recalling what has already been said about Crestien's sources for his romances, (pp. 17 f.) we find that *Erec* partly and *Cligès* almost wholly reflect literary origins; that *Lancelot* and *Yvain* seem to go back to popular sources, mainly; that *Perceval* points to both influences. If we may accept Crestien's statement (*P* 66) that the book given him by Philip of Flanders contained the grail story, we do not have to assume that it included any mention of Arthur or his court. The Arthurian framework had by the time of the *Perceval,* become conventional with Crestien. Aside from these statements there is certainly much of popular origin in the story.[37]

*Erec* and *Cligès* which, so far, appear to have been more closely influenced by the chronicles than have the other romances, naturally reflect to some extent the historical Arthur, while those romances more or less popular in origin may go back to stories in which some other hero, Lancelot, or Gawain, played the chief rôle. Though the second part of this statement may apply also to *Erec* and *Cligès,* the difference lies in the fact that these two stories have been influenced by the historical conception of Arthur sufficiently to check the gradually growing tendency of the romancer to push Arthur into the background,—a tendency which becomes an established habit in Crestien's later romances and in those of his successors.[38a]

Thus, the nature of the original material may have been partly

[36] 1217, 1253, 2840, 4040, 4076, 4242.

[37] *See* p. 17 & n. 9 and Paris, *Rom.* XVIII (1889) 598.

[38a] The prose romancers conceived of Arthur much more in the manner of the chronicles. See "Large *E*," XXXVIII.

responsible for the position of Arthur in the type of romance that bears his name. For technical reasons Arthur was inevitably forced to make way, often for the hero of the original story. His fame was too great, however, to admit of actual removal, hence he was retained to preside over a brilliant court where heroes are attracted (some of whom were never before associated with Arthur) and where they obtain distinction which without such association they might never have won in the minds of the audiences who listened to their adventures. (See p. 133). The presence of Arthur, then, gives unity to the tale and social éclat to the hero. Every mediaeval romancer, if he wished to obtain recognition for his story, hastened to connect his hero with the court of Arthur.[38b]

*Baudemagus.* (See pp. 56 ff.)

*Bedver.* (See pp. 31, 96 ff.)

*Cadovalanz. Li rois Cadovalanz* (*E* 315) is mentioned in *Erec* as one of the *mellors barons de la cort* (312) and later (6816) he with Gawain and several others goes to conduct Enide to her coronation. In the chronicles there is a British king named Cadualo-n-em (*HRB* XXII, i ff.; Cadvalan[39] *B* 14447) who occupies a rather prominent place. He comes, however, after the Arthurian period. The only similarity to Crestien's figure is in the name and in the fact that he is a king. Cadovalant (acc.) could derive from Cadualan with the addition of *t* through analogy with other names in *t*. The presence of this ending in the *Erec* (z=ts, nom.) seems to have been required by the rime, for in both places the name occurs as a rime word: 315, *Cadovalanz - vaillanz;* 6816, *lanz - Cadovalanz.* The *t* of *Cadovalant* may, however, be an assumption of the editors. *Cadovalanz* might have as accusative *Cadovalan* (cp. *an-anz* < *annus*). Thus in either case it is at least possible that Crestien borrowed his *rois Cadovalanz* from the Brut.

*Kay.* Perhaps the most interesting of these figures is Kay. Here as in Arthur contrary traits enter in to complicate the conception, and render it strikingly inconsistent. Kay is one person in *Erec* and in *Lancelot,*[40] a totally different person in *Yvain,* and

[38b] Besides Crestien's romances *see Le Bel Inconnu, Yder, Le Chevalier as Deus Espees,* and many others, *HL* XXX, 14 ff. For further discussion of C's treatment of Arthur, *see* pp. 132 ff.

[39] Variants: Cadualan, 14476, 14828; Cavalens, 14565; Cadualain, 14913.

[40] He does not appear in *Cligès.*

a combination of contrasting qualities in *Perceval.* Crestien's first romance presents the seneschal rather favorably. He appears first [41] in amicable conversation with Gawain over the approach of a strange knight with his dwarf and maid (1091). Gawain sends Kay to apprise the queen of their arrival, an errand to which he attends with perfect sweetness of temper. He comes upon the scene but once again [42] in *Erec:* in the episode where he meets the hero in the forest and tries to bring him to Arthur (3959). The seneschal has ridden forth on Gawain's horse without permission and coming upon Erec in one of the forest paths, he seizes his bridle rudely and addresses him without salutation. To Erec's angry protest at being thus accosted Kay replies graciously:

3994 . . . . . "Ne vous enuit;
Car por vostre bien le demant.
Je voi et sai certainnemant
Que bleciez estes et navrez.
Anquenuit buen ostel avrez.
Se avuec moi volez venir.
Je vos ferai mout chier tenir
Et enorer et aeisier;
Car de repos avez mestier.
Li rois Artus et la reïne
Sont ci pres an une gaudine
De trez et de tantes logié.
Par buene foi le vos lo gié,
Que vos an veigniez avuec moi
Veoir la reïne et le roi,
Qui de vos grant joie feront
Et grant enor vos porteront."

To Erec's ungracious refusal of this courteous invitation, Kay answers merely that he is very foolish (4017). Not until Erec has given a second and very indignant refusal does Kay kindle and return his defiance *come hon plains de grant felonie* (4044). This last phrase suggests that the deterioration of Kay had begun even as early as the *Erec.*[43] His ill humor under the circumstances

[41] His first appearance in character. His name only is mentioned in 317.

[42] His name is merely mentioned in 1526, 1739. Kay appears in 1739 as the father of *Gronosis qui mout sot de mal.* From line 4044 *Erec,* and from the Kay of *Yvain* and of *Perceval* we may infer that Gronosis came honestly by this trait.

[43] See also p. 93, n. 50.

however, is quite justified, and to speak of any one capable of uttering such a gentle appeal as that which Kay has just made, as *hon plains de grant felonie* seems ill-timed. It looks as though Kay in this passage were the victim of opposing influences from without. After the combat to which this quarrel leads, Kay receives his defeat quietly, acknowledges that he had taken Gawain's horse, and on returning tells the whole story to Arthur. The seneschal's behavior on this occasion may not have been altogether tactful, but there is certainly nothing despicable in it.

The *Charrete* presents Kay very much in the manner of the *Erec*. Although it is through the wiles of the seneschal that Guinevere is stolen from the court, he seems to possess the love of all (84 ff.). On his avowal to leave the king's service Arthur says there is nothing in the world that he would not give Kay if the seneschal would only remain (109). The queen, sent to entreat him, actually drops on her knees before him because Arthur will never be happy without Kay's company. Can this be the Kay of *Yvain?* (See infra). The disgrace that overtakes the seneschal on his departure with the queen, is consistent with Crestien's general conception of Kay's soldiership. Kay is never allowed to win a battle.[44] In spite of his trickery, he is later appointed to the guardianship [45] of Guinevere in the castle of Baudemaguz (4539 ff.), an office performed if not exactly with competence, yet at least in good faith. It is significant that the queen in this episode speaks of Kay as *cortois et leaus* [46] (4860). The Kay of the *Lancelot* has little skill in arms, but is clever, courteous, loyal, and much beloved by Arthur.

In direct contrast to the conception in *Erec* and in *Lancelot* stands the Kay of the *Yvain*. He is a veritable Jonsonian humor who can speak only according to his cue. He is introduced (69) *mout ranponneus fel et poignanz et afiteus,* and his insulting remarks to

[44] Compare *Erec* 4050, *Yvain* 2254, *Perceval* 4266. Whoever meets with no success in deeds of arms was considered a coward and was universally despised by his companions. (Schultz *op. cit.* II, 1.) Kay is always such a butt.

[45] Crestien does not actually say that Kay has to guard the queen, but he implies as much.

[46] The fact that Lancelot takes up Kay's quarrel with Meliaganz, and offers to be his champion does not argue in favor of his love for Kay, particularly. He does it of course to save his own reputation. Kay, we remember, has been charged with illicit relations with the queen, and the guilty Lancelot protects the seneschal in order to save himself.

Calogrenanz justify these epithets. His taunts bring on some ugly repartee with the queen, after which, Kay is silenced for the moment by Calogrenanz who in phrases plain but picturesque explains to the company that Sir Kay speaks as his nature [47] dictates (115), an idea that finds constant echo (131, 591, 612). He is especially addicted to the use of *ramposnes* (630, 894, 1348). When Kay after a sneering tirade against Yvain, asks Arthur for the battle with the new defender of the fountain (2228) and is defeated, it gives amusement to all even to Arthur (2284). Kay, *de honte assomez, Et mas et morz et desconfiz,* cuts a very different figure from the Kay whom Gawain unhorses in *Erec.* Only once can Crestien say anything good of him:

635 Bien set ancontre vilenie
Respondre san et corteisie, . . . . .

lines reminiscent of the courteous Kay of the *Erec.* Thus the Kay of *Yvain* is a spiteful, quarrelsome fellow who can never open his mouth to say a pleasant word, in consequence of which behavior he has the respect of none and is frequently being put in ludicrous positions.

In the *Kay* of the *Conte du Graal* both the good and the evil qualities are apparent, though the latter are more prominent. At the outset Kay takes an unreasonable prejudice against Perceval. He rails at the youth for wanting the Red Knight's armor, an affair in which he is not called upon to meddle (979). He strikes the little maid who foretells Perceval's renown, and kicks the fool into the fire because the latter prophesies evil for him on account of his venomous tongue (1026). Later (2834) Kay would insult the fool but is too cowardly. Again and again [48] does Arthur rebuke him, but to no purpose. Once the king utters the sentiment of Guinevere in the *Yvain,*

[47] That Kay's complexity was handed on to later romancers is evidenced by the fact that the *Livre d' Artus,* (1230-1250 acc. to G. Paris) a continuation of the Merlin story, attempts to redeem Kay's character, by holding him not responsible for his bitter words. See Freymond, *ZfS* XVII (1895), 12 & n. 2. *See also Merlin* I, pp. XVIII, XXI, "Soc. des anc. Textes", where Paris thinks that the explanation given in the *Livre d'Artus* was the invention of Robert dè Boron. For other examples of inconsistency in the portrayal of Kay *see* Sachse, HA XXIX (1861) 165 ff. The queen's use of *Monseignor* in 131 in speaking of Kay would seem to be derisive. On the significance of this title *see* Stowell, W. A., *Old French Titles of Respect in Direct Address,* Balto., 1908, 223.

[48] 979, 1217, 1253, 2840, 4076, 4242.

*P* 4076 E Kex qui envieus estoit
E est ancor et tozjorz iert
Ne ja nul bien dire ne quiert—

an idea repeated in 4236. The constant reiteration of this note here and in *Yvain,* leads to the impression that Kay in these narratives is little more than an abstraction. In the episode where Perceval, meditating upon the blood-drops in the snow, is interrupted successively by Sagremor, Kay and Gawain in their attempts to bring him to Arthur, (4126 ff.) the seneschal, bitter over his own failure, taunts Gawain, about to make his trial, with being a sort of carpet knight. Gawain, he says, will do battle in a silken surcoat instead of armor; he will break no lance, but his tongue will not fail him (4352). But the *Perceval* also takes a markedly sympathetic attitude towards the seneschal. (1) Kay is handsome in appearance but not in manners.

2755 E Kex parmi la sale vint
Trestoz desafublez et tint
An sa main destre un bastonet
El chief un chapel de bonet
Dont li chevol estoient blont
N'ot plus bel chevalier el mont
E fu treciez a une tresce
Mais sa biauté e sa proesce
Empirient le felon gap
La cote fu d'un riche drap
De soie tote coloree
Ceinz fu d'une ceinture ovree
Don la boclete et tuit li mambre
Estoient d'or bien m'an remambre
E l'estiore ensi le tesmoigne.
Chascuns de sa voie s'esloigne
Si com li vint parmi la sale
Ses fellons gas sa lengue male
Redotent tuit si li font rote
N'est mie sage qui ne dote
Ou soit a gas ou sait a certes
Felenies trop descovertes:
Ces felons gas tant redotoient

Trestuit cil qui laenz estoient
C'onques nus a lui ne parla.

Nowhere else does Crestien mention Kay's beauty or his prowess. How could Kay who is too cowardly to insult a fool and who never wins a battle be possessed of prowess and be called one of the finest knights in the world? We have found him courteous and loyal, but never expert in arms. These lines may point to a double source for the character of Kay.

(2.) Kay knows how to be courteous if he would.[49]

4366 Ha sire Kex plus belemant
Fait il le me poissiez dire.

The general impression that we get of Kay in *Yvain* and elsewhere in *Perceval* is that he does not know how to speak graciously, that his speech is ugly because he cannot help himself.

(3.) After Kay's overthrow by Perceval, Arthur has the best physician and three nurses called to attend him, for he loved him very much.

4300 E li rois qui molt l'avoit tandre
E molt l'amoit an son corage
Li envoie un mire molt sage
E treis puceles de s'escole.

These lines are an echo of Arthur's love for Kay in the *Charrete.*

Thus the *Conte du Graal* offers the final testimony as to Crestien's inconsistency everywhere in the portrayal of this character. On the one hand we have a Kay pleasantly obliging, courteous, hospitable, though a little impulsive and tactless, handsome, courageous, loyal, and greatly beloved by Arthur; on the other, a schemer, a mean, contemptible weakling, who can never open his mouth without a sneer, who boastfully and stupidly takes battles upon himself only to be whipped like a fool amid the laughter and jeers of the onlookers.

How could such an impossible combination of qualities have come about? Two distinct influences must have been active in the composition of Crestien's seneschal. The origin of Kay of the venomous tongue has not yet been conclusively determined. G. Paris implies that the first indication of an unfavorable conception is

[49] Cp. *Yvain* 635.

found in Crestien.[50] Gradually, he says, Kay's faults were exaggerated until in the later romances he becomes "un lache, un traître, et finalement le plus odieux de scélérats. Cette transformation est complète dans les romans en prose." (*HL* xxx, 52).

Sachse (*op. cit.* 181) called attention to figures in some of the great epics that perform the function of a contrast figure or foil piece in the court in much the same manner that Kay does in the Arthurian romances. Such characters are: Thersites, Hagen and Ganelon.[51a]. To these may be added the mischief-making Loki of Norse mythology, the boaster Unferth of the *Beowulf*, the cowardly and crafty seneschal of Thomas's *Tristan*,[51b] and Bricriu of the Bitter Tongue in Irish heroic saga. Since such a character is found in the sagas of different nations and periods we may conjecture that it was doubtless regarded as part of the epic equipment, and hence that it may have originated among different peoples independently. There are, however, certain traits in the seneschal of the *Tristan* and in Bricriu which suggest an actual prototype for Kay of the venomous tongue.

The situation in the *Tristan* is as follows.[52] The king of Ireland has proclaimed that whoever can slay the devastating dragon shall have his daughter's hand and half of his kingdom. Each day the seneschal arms himself in hopes of securing the coveted prize, but his cowardice prevents him from ever meeting the dragon face to face. The poet describes him as *outre-cuidant, mauvais de coeur, dissimulé, cauteleux, menteur et fourbe* (117). When the slayer of the dragon finally appears in the person of Tristan, the seneschal sees his opportunity. Severing the head of the dead monster in Tristan's absence he loudly proclaims himself victor, and as loudly demands the reward. The king would grant it according to promise, but Isolt and the queen protest, the latter saying (123) "il est un fou gonflé de démesure, fourbe et de mauvais coeur, sans plus

[50] *HL* XXX, 51. What he actually says is that the first indication of an unfavorable conception is found in the *Tristan* of Eilhart von Oberg (1175ca); but immediately afterward he states that it was not impossible for Eilhart or his French original to have known Crestien. According to Paris's own dating, *Yvain*, the first of Crestiens works to depict Kay as a markedly disagreeable person could not have been written later than 1174, hence Crestien may have been the first to picture Kay thus.

[51a] See p. 137.

[51b] *See Cligès*, 3rd ed. 1910, *LII.*

[52] Bédier, ed. I, 117 ff.

de foi qu'une femme publique, rusé et envieux, haï de tous et couard, et plain d'autres vices honteux à tout homme noble.''

The deceiver on seeing himself baffled, becomes vexed and ironical: ''Nuire à ses amis,'' he says to Isolt, ''blâmer, se montrer amie de ses ennemis, telle est bien la coutume des femmes. Femme hait qui l'aime, et convoite ce qu'elle ne peut obtenir, et s'efforce vers ce qu'elle n'obtiendra jamais, et repousse ce qu'elle devrait aimer.'' (127). Thinking himself safe he proposes a combat with anyone who dares challenge the truth of his assertion that he is the slayer of the dragon. Tristan now steps in, and the terms of combat are agreed upon. Before the battle comes off, however, Tristan in the presence of the court produces the tongue of the dragon which he had fortunately taken from the head on departing from the scene of conflict. The king now sends for the head, and when it is seen to be without a tongue all are convinced of the seneschal's villainy. ''Alors chacun de tourner en dérision et de maudire le felon, et depuis il fut toujours et partout raillé et honni, pour avoir osé produire un tel mensonge devant les plus hauts hommes et les plus sages du pays.'' (140).

Although Crestien's Kay can nowhere be accredited with a deed similar to this, yet in personality he certainly reminds one of the Irish seneschal. Since he deceived Arthur in order to carry Guinevere away from the court he could be called *dissimulé, couteleux, rusé* and even *mauvais de coeur*. This latter epithet may be applied also to the Kay of *Yvain* and to the venomous tongued Kay of *Perceval*. Since people shun Kay for fear of his evil speech, this implies that he was *haï de tout*. (*P* 2785). He may rightly be called *outre-cuidant* and *gonflé de démesure* when he insists that Arthur give him the battle with the defender of the fountain and when he asks to go to meet the strange knight who reveals himself as Perceval. His speeches to Guinevere and Calogrenanz in *Yvain* and to Gawain and Perceval in the *Conte du Graal* though more caustic may be put beside the words of the seneschal to Isolt. Envy and cowardice are both counted among Kay's traits. Finally the ludicrous situation in which Kay is often placed after his overthrow in a battle of his own seeking is not unlike that of the Irish seneschal who finds his machinations brought to light before the whole court. It has already been shown that Crestien borrowed from Thomas to a considerable extent; it is not impos-

sible that he derived from this source a hint for the degenerate Kay.[53]

Another prototype for the disagreeable Kay, especially for his propensity to evil speech is, as above noted, the Irish Bricriu. This person, known in Irish legend as Bricriu of the Bitter Tongue figures conspicuously in the *Fled Bricriend* (Feast of Bricriu).[54] His chief business is to make dissension among the heroes. On this occasion he builds a grand house, and with malicious intent invites all the warriors of Ulster and their wives to partake of a feast. They accept his invitation on condition that as soon as he has laid out the feast he remove himself from their presence lest he sow discord among them. Bricriu complies with this condition, but nevertheless manages to play his tricks. He succeeds, in the course of the entertainment, in getting each warrior aside and telling him that he alone is the best hero of Ulster; then to each woman he says that she is the wife of the best hero. The results are not hard to imagine. Though Kay is drawn by Crestien to a much smaller scale than Bricriu, still, in his quarrelsome habits and his trickery as exhibited in the *Charrete, Yvain,* and *Perceval* he is reminiscent of the Irish hero.

Crestien's source for the heroic Kay is perhaps still easier to trace. The Kay of Welsh saga is in valor and initiative next to Arthur. The Mabinogi of *Kulhwch and Olwen* represents him as a very Odysseus in craftiness.[55] He is possessed of supernatural powers:

Kynyr Keinvarvawc says to his wife, "Si ton fils [Kay] jeune femme, tient de moi, jamais son coeur sera chaud; jamais il n'y aura de chaleur dans ses mains—si est mon fils, il sera têtu . . . lors qu'il portera un fardeau, grand ou petit, on ne l'appercevera jamais ni par devant lui ni par derrière: personne ne supportera l'eau et le feu aussi longtemps que lui: il n'y aura pas un serviteur ni un officier comme lui." (214)

[53] In the *Roman de Tristan et Iseut renouvelé par J. Bédier,* Paris, n. d., p. 60 the seneschal has a name, *Aguynguerran le Roux.* This name reminds us of Anguingerrons, seneschal of Clamadex des Illes the oppressor of Blanchefleur, *P* 1980 ff. Bédier says in the preface (p. 18) that the chapter, III, in which this episode is related is based on Eilhart d'Oberg. According to Paris (See p. 93, n. 50) Eilhart's *Tristan* and Crestien's *Perceval* were composed about the same time (1175ca, *HL* XXX, 51). Has this name been borrowed from one or the other, and on which side does the obligation lie?

[54] "Irish texts Society" II, ed., George Henderson, London, 1899.

[55] Loth, *Mab.* I, 231, 257.

Again:

> Kei avait ce privilège qu'il pouvait respirer neuf nuits et neuf jours sous l'eau; il restait neuf nuits et neuf jours sans dormir un coup de l'épée de Kei, aucun médecin ne pouvait le guérir; c'etait un homme précieux que Kei: quand il plaisait à Kei, il devenait aussi grand que l'arbre le plus élevé de la forêt.— Quand la pluie tombait le plus dru, tant ce qu'il tenait à la main etait sec au-dessus et au-dessous, à la distance d'une palme, si grande etait sa chaleur naturelle.[56] Elle tenait meme lieu de combustible à ses compagnons, quand le froid était le plus vif." (225).

Single-handed he can do the work of an army (266, 268). In the *Dream of Rhonabwy* as a warrior he wins universal admiration (300). His trusted companion is Bedwyr,[57] and Arthur always has great hope of an enterprise in which these two heroes take part [58] (261). On one occasion Arthur addresses him as *cher Kei* (199). Only once does Kay become enraged: when he presents Arthur with the leash made of the beard of the giant Dillus. On receiving the gift the king responds in a taunting rime:

> Kay has made a leash of the beard
> Of Dillus son of Eurei
> Were he living, thy death he'd be. (269)

The story-teller remarks here: So great was Kay's wrath that the warriors of the Island had much trouble in making peace between him and Arthur. Henceforth Kay no longer went to aid Arthur in time of need. How old this particular tradition is we cannot tell, but it seems scarcely probable that this episode was the starting point for the conception of the venomous Kay, because his anger here is entirely justifiable, and is of heroic proportions quite unlike the petty ill temper of the romantic Kay.

The *Black Book,* the *Triads,* and the Welsh Bards from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries all testify to Kay's great prowess

[56] This trait Kay shares with Cuchulain. See *GGA*, 1890, 517 f. It is in curious contrast to the one mentioned in the previous passage, that his heart should be cold, etc.

[57] 226, 259, 261, 266, 268.

[58] Malory makes Kay Arthur's foster brother, and before this, Lajamon had made Kay and Arthur relatives. *See* Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 159 & n. 1.

(*Mab,* I, 198, n.) and several places in the region of Snowden bear his name today.[59]

If Loth is right in dating the earliest of the *Mabinogion,* the *Dream of Rhonabwy* not before 1159, (*Mab.* I, 18) the legends themselves as he says, must go back still earlier, and as Kay in this redaction and in the tale of *Kulhwch and Olwen,* also belonging to this first period,[60] is represented as an heroic figure, the probability is that such was the original conception. This view finds support in the fact that the nobler Kay is found in a document written sometime before 1159,[61] namely: the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Kay, prominent throughout the Arthurian period, nowhere gives the slightest promise of the vices that degrade him in the French romances.[62] Gawain himself is scarcely more honored. Kay's companion is Bedver; they are glorious peers scarcely ever mentioned apart. Arthur celebrates his conquests in Gaul by bestowing Neustria (Normandy) on Bedver his butler, and Andegavia (Anjou) on Cajus his steward (IX, xi). Together they serve Arthur at the grand coronation (IX, xii, xiii.) When Arthur goes to combat with the giant of Mont St.-Michel, he departs privately, taking with him only Kay and Bedver[63] (X, iii). Like the *compaignon* of the epic they command a division of the army in the Roman war (X, vi) and by their death the Britons sustain great loss (X, ix). In the last battle Kay receives a mortal wound in trying to avenge the death of his friend. After the victory Arthur gives orders for the honorable burial of the fallen nobles among whom Kay and Bedver receive special mention[64] (X, xiii).

[59] Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore,* 565.

[60] *Mab.* tr. Lady C. Guest, (ed., A. Nutt) London, 1902, Introd.

[61] See Fletcher *op. cit.* 45 & n.—not later than 1138.

[62] Zimmer, *ZfS* XIII, 27, n. 1 remarks upon the great difference between the Kay of Welsh saga and of French Arthurian romance, and says that if the Arthurian court is modeled on that of Charlemagne and his twelve peers then Kay as a foil figure is parallel to Ganelon. However he does not think there is resemblance of characters. *See* also *GGA,* 1890, 517, 525, 830, & n. 1; Freymond, *ZfS* XVII, 11, & this study, 137.

[63] Fletcher (*op. cit.* 91) says that the association of Kay and Bedver with Arthur in this expedition represents a trace of a version in which these persons, now subordinates, held the first place. He points out that a similar affair, that of Dillus Varvawc in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, *Mab.* 1, 268) they still occupy the place of principals. (See 91, n. 1 for bibl. of parallels to this story). Also see Fletcher (111) for a discussion of how Geoffrey made over the Celtic heroes Kay and Bedver into great Norman nobles.

[64] If the earliest *Mabinogion* were not written before 1159 it is possible that they as well as the *Triads* (*Mab.* II, 202) have been affected by Geoffrey's *Historia.* Arthur's

Wace's additions to this account are significant. Kay, Arthur's master seneschal was valiant and loyal (10410). He and Bedver were very faithful and knew all the king's counsel (10419). In describing the battles with the Romans, Wace becomes exclamatory over the glorious deeds of Kay and Bedver, and says that their very eagerness wrought their undoing (12989). Thus, according to record, no stain had fallen upon the character of Kay by the year 1155, the date of the *Brut,* or, to include the early Mabinogion, by the year 1159.[65]

The source of Crestien's nobler Kay is now probably apparent. Both Crestien and Wace [66] speak of his loyalty, of his nearness to Arthur, of his splendid appearance as a warrior, of his courage and his kindness. Unless we assume that Crestien got his conception from Welsh tradition, which is not likely,[67] we may conclude that the *Brut* is probably responsible for his portrayal of the chivalric Kay.

*Yvain.* Crestien's *Yvain li fiz Urien* makes his first appearance in *Erec,* 1706 as one of the Round Table knights, and perhaps also in 2230, in the tournament celebrating the marriage of Erec and Enide.[68]

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love of Kay, the association of Kay and Bedver as matchless warriors, Arthur's confidence in the success of an enterprise led by Kay and Bedver (*Mab.* I, 261,) the effect of Kay's prowess on Arthur's army (*Mab.* I, 300)—these facts are decidedly reminiscent of Geoffrey.

It is interesting to note that the three later Mabinogion parallel to some extent to Crestien's *Erec, Yvain* and *Perceval* present the deteriorated Kay. In *Owain,* however, he is not painted in as strong colors as in *Yvain.* These tales, says Loth, *Mab.* I, 198, n. 1, have come under French influence. Did the degenerate Kay then originate on French soil? *See also* Zimmer *GGA,* 1890, 525.

[65] Paris *HL* XXX, 51, says that Wace's account shows him to have been ignorant of the unfavorable legends about Kay.

[66]

| CRESTIEN | | WACE | | CRESTIEN | | WACE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *L* | 4860 | 10410 | *P* | 2760 | | 12995 |
| | 109 | 10419 | *P* | 2762 | | " |
| *P* | 4300 | 11600 | *E* | 3994 | | 13041 |

[67] It must be observed that the *Mabinogion* Kay is drawn more in the style of a hero of the folk epic, but Wace's Kay is a member of chivalric society. There is one characteristic of Kay present in the *Charrete* and in *Kulhwch and Olwen* but not in the *Brut,* that is craftiness. Kay of the *Lancelot* outwits Arthur, as we have seen and takes Guinevere from the court (84 ff.) In *K. & O.* when the shepherd's wife in the castle of Yspaddaden Penkawr goes to embrace him, he substitutes a log of wood for his body and thus saves himself from being crushed to death (*Mab.* I, 231); in the same story he passes himself off as a furbisher of swords, and succeeds in slaying the giant Gwrnach Gawr (*Mab.* I, 257). This trait may have come to Crestien through Welsh legend.

[68] Foerster in his glossary identifies this Yvâin of the tourney as the son of Urien, but as the knight is called in this place simply "Yvain" and as there are mentioned

Goeffrey calls the son of Urien, Eventus and mentions him but once (X, i). In the war with Modred, Aguisel is slain and is succeeded in his kingdom of Albania by his brother Urien's son, Eventus who afterwards (*postea*) performed many famous exploits *in decertationibus*. Just what Geoffrey meant by this phrase is not clear. It would seem to refer to the dissension between Arthur and Modred, yet that falls at the very end of the Arthurian period and therefore is of short duration. And Yvain's name does not occur again in Geoffrey's book. Wace avoids this difficulty by substituting:

*B* 13605 Ivains fu de mult grant valur,
De grant pris et de grant honur,
Et mult fu preisiéz....

Whether this praise of Yvain is due solely to Wace's original or whether to some tradition concerning Yvain we cannot tell, but from the particular terms in which Yvain is here described and from the fact that he is mentioned in the *Brut* [69] and not in the *Historia* as one of the coronation guests, it is probable that Wace knew more of Yvain than he discovered in Geoffrey's history.

As the records concerning Yvain's parentage do not seem to antedate Geoffrey, it is possible that Geoffrey [70] either invented the relationship or got it from tradition. Probably the latter is the more likely conjecture, since in the *Mabinogion* and the *Triads* Owein ab Uryen is of frequent occurrence,[71] and although these documents may reflect the influence of Geoffrey, yet the frequency with which the name occurs and the distinction of the hero suggest that Yvain's lineage was established before Geoffrey's time.

Possibly Crestien's Yvain may owe something of his valorous and courteous nature to the words of Wace above quoted. In one

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in the narrative besides the son of Urien three other persons by this name, all members of Arthur's circle, it is impossible to tell which particular Yvain is meant in 2230. These Yvains are listed among the Round Table Knights in the passage where *Yvain li fiz Urien* occurs: *Yvains de Loenel* 1707; *Yvains li Avoutre* 1708; *Yvain(s) de Cavaliot* 1709. With the exception of Yvains li Avoutre, Crestien does not mention these persons again. Yvain li Avoutre appears as the brother of Yvain the son of Urien in the *Perceval* 8121. He is not a brother germain, however, whence his name Avoutre. He, together with his brother is represented as *Molt preu molt sage e molt cortois* (8127).

[69] 10521 De Moroif Uriens li rois Et Yvains ses fiz li cortois.

[70] *Mab.* I, 18.

[71] *Owein and Lunet, Mab.* II, 2. *The Dream of Rhonabwy, Mab.* I, 303. *Triads* 205, 216, 260, 281 & n. 5.

of the two cases where Yvain is mentioned exclusive of the *Chevalier au Lion* he is called *li cortois li bien afeitiez* (*P* 8117) and *tant sage e tant cortois* (*P* 8120); and throughout the fountain story he acts in accord with the virtues attributed to him by the *Brut*. Lunete recognizes him as a *prodon* (999) and tells Laudine:

1606 Et aussi buen seignor vos rande
Si com il est poesteïs

The lady herself calls him *mout frans* (1517) and again she says

2119 N'onques mes certes nel conui,
S'ai mout oï parler de lui.
Si hauz hon est, ce sachiez bien,
Con li fiz au roi Uriien.
Sanz ce, qu'il est de haut parage,
Est il de si grant vasselage,
Et tant a corteisie et san
Que desloer nel me doit l'an.
De mon seignor Yvain, ce cuit,
Avez bien oï parler tuit,
Et ce est il, qui me requiert.
Plus haut seignor, qu'a moi n'afiert
Avrai au jor que ce sera.

Laudine and Gawain speak of his cortoisie (1295, 2210) and Crestien introduces him on one occasion as *mout preuz et cortois* (6230). He is constantly the champion of the oppressed. He avenges his cousin germain, Calogrenanz, (581) he rescues Lunete from her accusers (3750, 4566); in the quarrel of the two sisters over their inheritance he becomes the champion of the younger (4815, 5098). He rescues Gawain's niece from the giant Harpin de la Montaigne (4135). In the *Pesme Aventure,* touched by the sight of the wretched maidens he essays the adventure (5107). Throughout he is the *compainz* of Gawain and their mutual devotion is marked.[72] Of course it is highly conventional to endow the hero of romance with all noble qualities, yet the fact remains that Wace's Yvain is possessed of the very same traits as the Chevalier au Lion and thus the *Brut* may in some measure have influenced Crestien's conception of Yvains li fiz Urien.

*Guinevere.* Crestien's portrayal of Guinevere like that of Ar-

[72] 2484, 4045, 6160, 6275, 6475.

thur is highly inconsistent. In *Erec, Cligès* and *Perceval* she is a paragon of virtue. She is *franche et sage* and speaks *cortoisement,* (*E* 1206) and is distinguished by her generous treatment of Enide (1535, 1681, 1764). She is the guiding genius of Alexander and Soredamors and directs their passion to its legitimate end (*C* 2279). Gawain in the *Perceval* speaks of her as his *dame* and *amie* (9090) and makes her the subject of a noble encomium.

Certes dame tant est cortoise
E tant est bele et tant est sage
Que dex ne fist loi ne lengage
Ou lan trovast si sage dame;
Puis que dex la premiere fame
Ot de la coste Adan formee
Ne fu dame se renomee;
E ele le doit mult bien estre
Qu'ausins come li sages mestre
Les petiz anfanz andoctrine
Ausi ma dame le reïne
Tot le monde anseigne e aprant
Que le li toz li biens descent
Car de li vient e de li muet
De me dame partir ne puet
Nus qui des conselliez san aut
Qu'ele set bien que chascuns vaut
Et que an doit a chascun fere
Por ce qu'ele li doie plere.
Nus hom bien ne enor ne fait
A cui ma dame apris ne l'ait
Ne ja nus n'iert si desheitiez
Qui de ma dame parte iriez.

Nowhere else does Crestien describe the queen so generously.

On the other hand in *Yvain* she is far from attractive. The coarseness of her addresses to Kay and her reception of his rude rejoinders produce anything but a pleasing impression (86, 125, 612). This conception, possibly colored by contemporary manners, is not in accord with Crestien's portrayal of Guinevere anywhere else.

A third picture of Guinevere is given in the *Charrete* which tale exploits her liaison with Lancelot. Here artistically, she is at once

superior to the Guinevere of the other romances, because, as the heroine, she receives from the poet the attention that lifts her from the position of a mere figure to the dignity of a character; but ethically, of course, she is not consistent with Crestien's other conceptions.

Aside from the Modred incident we learn little of Guinevere from the Chronicles. Geoffrey has her descended from a noble Roman family, and excelling all the women of the island in beauty (IX, ix) Wace adds that she was courteous (9884)

9892 Mult fu large e bele parlière;
Artur l'ama mult e ot chière.

Guinevere's amour with Modred has already been discussed (pp. 61 ff.). This episode as we have seen may have been the starting point for Crestien's conception of the queen of the *Charrete* but the indebtedness can be no greater than that. Thus, Guinevere of the Lancelot is apparently the only Guinevere likely to have been influenced by the *Brut*. The attributes of the queen in *Erec* and in *Perceval* may possibly have been suggested by Wace's lines, but Guinevere's position as the consort of Arthur would cause these virtues to be given her inevitably.

*Yder son of Nut*

*Yders li fiz Nut* appears first as Erec's arrogant rival in the sparrow-hawk adventure (138 ff). After his defeat when he goes at Erec's bidding to surrender himself to the queen (1183) he loses his pride and haughtiness; later he appears as a member of Arthurian society when he attends the queen and Enide at the coronation (6819). Crestien does not mention him in any other romance.[73]

Yder occurs as Hiderus in the *HRB* (X, iv), where he is not distinguished, however, as the son of Nut. Here he advances with reinforcements to aid the Britons under Gawain, who has brought on a battle with the Romans. Wace has Arthur send Yder the son of Nut to the assistance of Gawain's troops (12336).

Crestien's Yder has in common with the Yder of the *Brut* these

[73] There are two other Yder's in *Erec*: Li rois Yders, 313, and Yders del Mont Dolereus, 1724. Li rois Yders seems to appear in Lancelot, also, 5823. These persons do not appear to be connected with Yder son of Nut (See "Large *E*," 302). There is a Nut mentioned in *Perceval* as the father of Giuflez, a knight who is to essay the adventure of Montesclere (4683), but there is nothing here to show that this Nut is the father of Yder. In *Erec*, 1728, there is a Girflez son of Do who may be the same person as Giuflez son of Nut, or he may be connected with the celebrated Gwydyon ab Don (Loth, *Mab.* I, 120, n. 2).

features: he is the son of Nut and is an Arthurian knight. Further than this he cannot be connected with the legendary, historical or the romantic Yder.[74]

In romance, Yder's achievements are the fight with the bear and the fight with the giants, and his love of Guinevere.[75] The first record we have of the giant incident is that by William of Malmesbury (1060? - 1143). Here, Yder disappears after the combat and Arthur thinking him dead, has mass sung for him at Gastonbury.[76]

In the Mabinogi of *Geraint and Enide* Yder (Edern) performs the same part as in *Erec,* but in the older tales he is presented more favorably. *Kulhwch and Olwen* mentions him as an Arthurian knight (*Mab.* I, 203). In the *Dream of Rhonabwy* he commands an army of men of Denmark[77] (I, 300). Here he is also one of Arthur's counsellors. Therefore, Crestien's treatment of Yder seems to be for the most part independent. There seems to be no precedent for connecting him with the Sparrow-hawk adventure, but the association of Yder with the court of Arthur may have developed from Wace.

Everywhere in the Welsh stories Edern is called the son of Nudd.[78] According to Zimmer, the original of this name is *Nu.*[79] Crestien's rimes would seem to attest such a view: *Erec* 1213, *Nut-reconut;* 6819, *Nut-corut.* According to Rhŷs,[80a] the Goidelic form of the name is Nuada, the Brythonic, found in Latin inscriptions, is Nodens-Nodentis.[80b] It survives in Welsh literature as Nud, but

[74] *See* Gelzer, *Einleitung zur einer altfz. Yder romans,* Strasbourg, 1908, 46.

[75] *See* Gelzer, *op. cit.,* 45; *HL* XXX, 200 f.; *Rom.* XV, 565.

[76] See *De Antiq. Glaston, eccles.* Migne, Patul. lat. t. 179, col. 1701. G. Paris, *HL* XXX, 199, thinks Wm's account was borrowed from a chivalric romance contemporary with or anterior to his work. Lot, *Rom.* XXVII, 52, considers the account an interpolation. *See also* 568, n. 2, where he calls attention to Paris's error (*loc. cit.*) in stating that Yder was killed and buried at Glastonb. Baist, *ZrP* IX (1885) 326, thinks it genuine.

[77] Perhaps this is another evidence of Geoffrey's influence on the *Mabinogion.* The *HRB* represents Arthur as conquering Dacia (Denmark) IX, xi. That Edern, an Arthurian knight, should be leading an army of Denmark may go back to Geoffrey's account.

[78] There are several Nudd's in the *Mabinogion*: Nudd the father of Edern, Gwynn, and Owein (I, 252, n. 2) Nudd Hoel ab Senaullt (II, 219, n. 5, 236, 296); and in the *Triads,* Nudd ab Keidiaw (II, 296, n. 2). This last Nudd, says Loth, has been confused with Nudd Hoel ab. S. and in every case with Nudd the god Nodens, father of Gwynn [and of Edern, too, apparently].

[79] *ZfS* XIII (1891) 50.

[80a] *Hibbard Lectures,* London, 1892, 125 ff.

[80b] See *Mab.* I, 252, n. 2.

the person seems to be a different character from Nuada. The more complete counterpart of Nuada is the mythical Welsh king Llûd Llawereint, or silverhanded. The early form of this name would be Lôdens. Lôdens thus appears as a modification of Nôdens; hence the Irish Nuada gives the Welsh Nûd and Lûd, two distinct persons. Lodens gives Lothus, Loth, or Lot of the Arthurian romances. (See p. 105).

The development of these characters may throw light on the growth of Arthurian story. The Irish Nuada (Rhŷs, 119) was king of a mythical colony called the *Tuatha Dé Danann* who took possession of Erin in early times, and who formed a group of divinities worshiped by the ancient Goidels. Nûd and Lûd, counterparts of Nuada in Welsh literature, appear in Arthurian romance as mortals seemingly. Yder son of Nut commands an army of Denmark and is buried at Glastonbury, Lot is king of Londonesia (Lothian) and is the father of Gawain. Here we may trace (1) a mythological beginning, (2) the transition from divinity to mortal (3) association with Arthurian story, (4) the localizing of Arthurian story in the North and finally in the South.[81]

*Ygerne.* All that we learn from Crestien about Ygerne is this: She is the mother of Arthur; (*P* 8697) he has not seen her for more than sixty years. When Uther Pendragon, his father, was buried, the queen, Ygerne, came into this country (the land of the Castle Marvelous) with her treasure and shut herself up in the castle and in the palace. She is represented as a gracious lady, who, when Gawain arrives makes him lord of the castle (8057). Her name is mentioned by Crestien nowhere else.

According to the well known story (*HRB* VIII, xix), Ygerne is the mother of Arthur and Anna by Uther, who, becoming enamored of her beauty at the Easter festival when he was holding High Court in London, later, with Merlin's aid, wrests her from her lawful husband, Gorlois Duke of Cornwall, indirectly causes the latter's death and then takes her in formal marriage.

Wace's principal additions are that Ygerne besides being beautiful was *sage* and of *mult halt parage;* (8801) and a general enlivening of the narrative. Wace's foundation for the above statement may have come from Welsh tradition. The *Brut Tysilio* calls

[81] Cp. with Zimmer's theory of origin of the historical Arthur in the North, *GGA*, 1890, 817 ff.

Ygerne, Eigr and makes her the daughter of Amlawdd the Great (San Marte, 541). In the Welsh genealogy of saints of the Isle of Britain, Amlawdd Wledic is mentioned as the father of Tywanwedd or Dwywanwedd who was mother of several saints (*Mab.* I, 185, n. 2.) This detail, the providing of Ygerne with Amlawdd Wledic as a father is found, according to the *Myr. Arch.* 587, in a Welsh version 500 years old, of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This MS gives for Gorlois the form Gorloes which, as Loth remarks, is more correct and nearer the Cornish form than Gwrlois of the *Brut Tysilio.* The significance of this testimony is that Eigr's or Ygerne's parentage seems to have been a matter of very early tradition and may explain Wace's *mult halt parage.* Apparently there is no evidence to show that Ygerne's connection with Uther dates earlier than the *Historia;*[82] hence the incident may be regarded as a chronicle transmission, and Crestien, as having obtained Arthur's pedigree from Wace.

*Lot.* Among the Round Table knights listed in *Erec* occurs the name, *Loz li rois* (1737). The next occurrence is in *Yvain.* Gawain says to Yvain: *Gauvains ai non fiz li roi Lot* (6267). We last meet with Lot's name in *Perceval* (8099) where Gawain tells the queen of the Marvelous Castle that Lot had four sons of whom he was the eldest, and a little later (8713) Gawain hears that his own mother, the wife of Lot is one of the queens of this castle. Thus, all we learn of Lot from Crestien is that he was an Arthurian knight and father of Gawain.

Historically, Lot was a person of distinction. He rules over Londonesia, a district comprising the modern counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Lothian,[83] and he marries Anne, the sister of Arthur, by whom he has two sons, Modred and Gawain.[84] Arthur reëstablishes Lot in his ancestral territory. Next, he sets out to conquer Norway that he may secure this land for Lot, his sister's husband (IX, xi). He is here represented as the nephew of Sichelin, king of Norway who had died, leaving the throne to his nephew. The Norwegians contest the appointment, but Arthur quickly subduing them, puts Lot in power.[85] Again in the same chapter, we

[82] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 90, thinks it based on a wide spread folktale which appears in the classic story of Jupiter and Alcmena. Cp. also the birth of Merlin. *HRB*, VI, xviii.

[83] Loth, *RC* XVI (1895), 85.

[84] *HRB* IX, ix; VIII, xxi. *See also* San Marte, p. 367, n. 11.

[85] *See* Loth, *RC* XVI, 84 ff.

are told that Gawain is Lot's son. As king of Norway, Lot is among the coronation guests, and later commands troops in the war with Rome (X, vi.) Wace's additions are of no importance. He mentions Lot twice among the coronation guests; in the passage where Geoffrey lists the name: as *Loth de Loënois* (10523), and later as *Lot qui est rois des Norois* (10578) as though they were different persons.[86]

Apparently Lot does not figure in the *Mabinogion*. There and in the *Triads* Gwyar is the father of Gawain[87] (Gwalchmei). According to the evidence therefore, Lot's connection with Arthur and his relationship to Gawain seem to date from Geoffrey of Monmouth,[88] hence it is probably through Wace that Crestien was led to assign to Lot the two chief rôles of the historical figure: a knight of the Round Table and the father of Gawain.

*Merlin.* It is curious that Merlin, who from the time of Geoffrey[89] on is so prominently associated with all matters Arthurian should receive from Crestien but one brief and indirect mention. In describing Arthur's generosity on the occasion of Erec's coronation Crestien says:

6690 Anmi la cort sor un tapit
Ot trante muis d'esterlins blans;
Car lors avoient a cel tans
Coreü[90] des le tans Merlin
Par tote Bretaingne esterlin.

These lines imply that the silver has been accumulating for a very long time, hence its quantity; and therefore, that *le tans Merlin* must mean "in the far past." The origin of so vague an allusion to such a renowned person as Merlin is obviously impossible to trace.

[86] Confusion may be owing to the fact that the form *Leir* found in at least one MS of the *HRB* (see San Marte 367 n. 11) occurs in the *Brut* MS du Roi 7515 3.3. Colbert in this line: *Leith qui est rois des Northois.* Wace may have followed a MS with the *Leir* form here and not have realized that Leir and Lot were intended for the same person.

[87] Why Loth, *Mab.* I, 227, n. 2, should say that in the *Mabinogion*, Gwalchmei is presented as the son of Loch Llawwynnyawc, when he is nine times spoken of as the son of Gwyar (I, 222, 227, 311; II, 47, 96, 100, 137, 265, 268) and nowhere mentioned as the son of anyone else, I do not understand. The name of Loch Llarowynnawc occurs but once in the *Mabinogion* (Ref. to I, 295 in gloss. seems to be incorrect).

[88] Loth, *RC* XVI, 84 also implies such a conclusion.

[89] In Celtic legend Merlin was associated with Arthur certainly before Geoffrey's time. *See* Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 91.

[90] On the form of this word, see "Large *E*" 333, n.

*Angrès - Modred.* The relationship of Angrès to Modred has been discussed in connection with the episodes in the first part of *Cligès*. It is necessary to add here only that the parallel does not extend to their connection with Arthur. Modred is Arthur's nephew, the son of his sister Anne and Lot of Londonesia (*HRB* IX, ix). Geoffrey states this fact in connection with Arthur's apportioning of territory to the three brothers Aguisel, Urien, and Lot. Wace does not speak of Modred until Arthur is about to embark for Gaul when he entrusted his kingdom *A Mordret un de ses nevuz* (11451). Later on he mentions the relationship more specifically: *Ses niés, fils sa sorur esteit* (13423). Angrès is merely a vassal and is not related to Arthur by blood.

*Nut*

See pp. 102 ff.

*Pandragon*

See Uther Pendragon, pp. 108 ff.

*Rion*

See pp. 67 ff.

*Urien.* Crestien's only mention of Urien is in relation to Yvain. *Yvain li fiz Urien.*[91] Once he gives a hint of Urien's station (*Y* 2123) where he says that Yvain as the son of Urien is of high lineage. This idea finds an echo in the *Brut* where Arthur is apportioning his northern conquests among the brothers Lot, Aguisel and Urien, (*B* 9854). Wace says they are of *mult franc linage* and of *halt parage* and *bien emparenté.* The *MS du Roi 73 Cangé* reads: *Trois frères de mult grant paraige I avoit de réal linaige.* Their ancestors had held the lands beyond the Humber by right and had done wrong to none. Geoffrey does not emphasize their high lineage: he states merely that they were *regali prosopia orti* (IX, ix). Both chroniclers put Urien, King of Murefensium (Moray), among the coronation guests; (IX, xii; 10521) and speak of him as father of Eventus (Yvain) to whom fell the kingdom of Aguisel after the latter's death (XI, i; 13597). In the council held before the British invasion of Roman territory Aguisel speaks and is introduced as the brother of Lot and Urien.[92] Urien (Uryen ab Kynvarch) is a distinguished figure in Welsh legend. As in the chronicles and romances he is the father of Owein[93] (Yvain).

[91] *E* 1706, *Y* 1018, 1818, 2122, 3631, *P* 8113.

[92] *B* 11236. Geoffrey does not mention this item.

[93] *Mab.* II, i.

He is a favorite hero with Talesin,[94] and he is king of Reged, a district often placed in the north. Urbgen (Urien) is mentioned in a genealogical passage in Nennius.[95] According to the Iola MSS 127 Uryen came from South Wales, helped to expel the Gaels and finally was canonized. Uryen was the son of Kynvarch, a name borne by the great tribes of Northern Britons. The name Urbgen (Urien) is found also among the Armorican Britons, and Llywarch Heu often celebrates Uryen and Owein. (*Mab.* II, i, n. 1).

Urien's name appears three times in the *Triads.* His slayer is Llofvan (Llovan) Llaw Divro; (*Mab.* II, 234 & n. 1); he is one of the three pillars of combat in the Isle of Prydein (II, 235) and one of the three blessed progeny (II, 260). These facts all go to prove that Urien was a widely known person in Welsh tradition; hence that Wace's insistence on his high descent is well founded and may account for Crestien's use of this detail in Yvain.

*Utherpendragon.* Crestien mentions the name of Uther Pendragon but three times. In *Yvain* (663) Arthur swears *l'ame Uterpandragon son pere* that he will go to see the fountain. In *Perceval,* Uther is twice alluded to as the father of Arthur (426, 8704).

In the *HRB,* Uther plays an important rôle, second only to that of Arthur himself. To give his history briefly: Constantine king of Britain had three sons: Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon (VI, v). Constans becomes the tool of Vortigern (VI, vi) who sets him upon the throne until he himself is ready to occupy it, when he has the weakling king assassinated. At this, those in charge of the two younger brothers flee with them to Armorica. (VI, viii) Towards the end of Vortigern's bloody reign Merlin prophesies the coming of Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother who are to seize the throne (VIII, i). Merlin's words come to pass the very next day. The sons of Constantine arrive with a large army, burn Vortigern in a tower, and take possession of the realm (VIII, ii). Aurelius as the elder now rules Britain. During his reign Uther is detailed with Merlin to bring over the Giant's

[94] *Mab.* II, i, n. 1.

[95] Giles, *op. cit.*, 414. "Against him, Theodoric of the Deiri, fought four kings: Urien, and Ryderthen, and Guallauc, and Morcant. Theodoric fought bravely together with his sons against that Urien."

Dance from Ireland and set it up in Salisbury plain (VIII, x). Uther wins great distinction in Ireland while battling for these magic stones (VIII, xii). At the death of Aurelius a star of wonderful magnitude appears, announcing his decease and presaging the reigns of Uther and his marvelous son. Uther, then warring in Cambria, defeats the enemy and returns to Winchester to take the throne (VIII, xvi). To commemorate the portent he has two dragons made in the likeness of the fiery dragon he had seen at the ray of the star. One of these he presented to the cathedral of Winchester and the other he kept to carry with him in his wars. From this time on he was called, says Geoffrey, "Utherpendragon: quod Britannica lingua caput draconis appellamus."[96] Uther continues to fight the Saxons (VIII, xviii). He becomes enamoured of Ygerne wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall to whom he gains access with Merlin's help, (VIII, xix) and whom he marries on the death of Gorlois (VIII, xx). Their children are Arthur and Anne. (See p. 105). The rest of Uther's life is spent in warring with his old foes, the Saxons by whom he is at last treacherously poisoned (VIII, xxiv). He is at once succeeded by his son Arthur (IX, i). Uther appears throughout to have been an able king. Wace's additions are, as usual, chiefly stylistic. He details Uther's career at considerable length and vivifies especially the episode with Ygerne. Uther's love plaints might have been uttered by Alexander for Soradamors (8885 ff.).

References to Uther in the *Triads* show plainly the influence of Geoffrey,[97] yet it is strange that he is nowhere mentioned as the father of Arthur. Hence it has been concluded that the relationship is an invention of Geoffrey's.[98]

[96] VIII, xvii. Pendragon really means "Head Leader" and has nothing to do with dragon, says Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 89.

[97] Uther's flight into Llydaw (Armorica), his return, and the burning of Vortigern in the tower (II, 211). This passage has either been influenced by Geoffrey or else both it and the *Historia* episode go back to the same source. Uther is also noted among the three first magies of the Isle of Prydein (II, 224).

[98] P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1868, I, 48; Loth, *Mab.* I, 187, note. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 89, says that some MSS of Nennius state that Arthur was called *Mab* Uther because he was cruel from his boyhood. *Mab Uther* means "terrible warrior" but may also mean, "son of Uther." Geoffrey may have used the interpolated text and either on purpose or erroneously have equated Uter with Uthr Ben. This procedure would have been just what was needed to furnish Arthur with a father and fill up the gap which Nennius's narrative implies between Arthur and the Aurelius Ambrosius of Gildas. As Ben and Pen are linguistically identical, the expansion of the name into Uther Pendragon is easily understood. U. P. = Head Leader.

It is probable that Crestien is indebted to Wace for Arthur's parentage.

*Pandragon.* There is a reference to Uther in *Erec* that deserves special mention. Arthur says:

1811 L'usage Pandragon, mon pere
Qui fu droiz rois et anperere
Doi je garder et maintenir.

It is noticeable that *Pandragon* occurs here alone. Nowhere else does Crestien employ this appellative without *Uther*. And only in one place in the *Brut* does it occur, not exactly without *Uther,* but separated from the given name:

7767 Uter ses frère Pandragon.

It is possible that Crestien made use of this detail. The passage is also noteworthy in sentiment. Arthur wishes to keep the laws of his father who was king and emperor by right. This recalls the career of the chronicle Uther who lawfully assumed the crown after his two elder brothers, and who seems never to have been unworthy of it. Hence Arthur would naturally desire to preserve the statutes made by such a father. This certainly looks like a historical allusion.

*Gawain.* Apparently the first[99] mention of Gawain is in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury. "In the Province of Wales called Ros, he says, (some time not far from the year 1090, we must infer) was discovered the tomb of Walwen, who, being the son of Arthur's sister, was not unworthy of him. He ruled in that part of Britain which is still called Walweitha,[100] a very valiant knight, but he was driven from his kingdom by the brother and nephew of Hengist; first getting satisfaction, however, by inflicting great harm upon them. He shared deservedly in the glory of his uncle, because they deferred for many years the ruin of their falling country."[101a]

As Fletcher says, we may infer from this passage that legends about Gawain were already known in which he was distinguished as Arthur's nephew.[101b] Geoffrey, building upon this tale and

[99] Paris, *HL* XXX, 29; Weston J. L., *The Legend of Sir Gawain,* London, 1897, 8.

[100] Galloway, acc. to Paris, *loc. cit.* See also Weston, *Perceval* I, 192.

[101a] Quoted from Fletcher, *op. cit.,* 104.

[101b] See the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* where Arthur says to Gawain: "My sisters sonne be yee." Sargent and Kittridge, *Eng. & Scot. Pop. Ballads,* Boston, 1904, 50. See also Nitze, *MP* IX (1912) 26.

doubtless other stories, elaborates the portrait of Gawain just as he has done that of Arthur, though in both the *Historia* and the *Brut*, Arthur is always first.

The *HRB* makes Gawain the son of Lot and Anne, and the brother of Modred (IX, ix). At the age of twelve he was sent to Pope Sulpicius to be trained in arms (IX, xi). On the eve of the war with Rome Arthur sends him as an envoy (see pp. 41 ff.) to the Roman camp where through his reckless behavior he brings on a battle in which he performs many valorous deeds (X, iv ff.). One of these exploits is a combat with the emperor, Lucius, who receives the youth with joy as one whose fame had long been known to him (X, xi). Gawain meets his death in the last great conflict of Arthurian history, the war with Modred in which Arthur himself disappears from the stage (XI, i.)

In the *Historia*, Hoel, Duke of Brittany, also represented as Arthur's nephew, is a peer of Gawain's. Together they command a company of foot in the Roman war and help to change the tide of battle. Geoffrey says of them (X, x): Hoelus ergo et Walgainus quibus meliores praeterita secula non genuerunt. Gawain is here a high spirited youth, slaying easily, coolly, tauntingly, and winning the commendation of Arthur for his successes.

Wace makes several important additions to Geoffrey's portrait. First, Gawain's greatness is predicted at the time of Arthur's birth, that is, before he himself is born (9057) and his parentage is also recorded here. Geoffrey does not mention these items. On his return from Pope Sulpicius he is thus described:

10106 Pruz fu e de mult grant mesure,
D'orgoil e de forfait n'ot cure;
Plus vuelt faire qu'il ne dist
E plus duner qu'il ne pramist.

When Arthur calls a council to deliberate upon the demands of the Roman Emperor, Gawain is among the speakers and addresses the assembly in words full of the spirit of chivalry and youthful enterprise. (See pp. 9, 146). His part in the war is treated with greater emphasis than in the *HRB*. In the thick of the fight he speaks with stingingly courteous irony:

12237 E Walwein dist, par curteisie:
Marcel, en enfer où tu vas,
A Quintiliën nunceras,

Par tei li mant e tu li di
Que Bretun sunt asséz hardi.

Hoel is still his peer, but to Geoffrey's praise Wace adds:

13168 Tel dui vassal ne furent ainz
Unques el siecle trespassé
N'orent ensamble tel esté
De bunté et de curteisie
De sen et de chevalerie.

In battle they rage like lions (13168) and Gawain is of *mult grant aïr* (13225.) At his death Arthur grieves [102] mightily, for there was no man he loved so well (13506, 13551). Thus in the *Brut* Gawain has become a figure distinguished for valor, courtesy, sense, moderation, for always keeping his promises, and for inspiring the love and confidence of his king. In personality he is essentially chivalric,—a character ready for the hand of the romancer.

Let us see how Crestien has apparently availed himself of this material. Crestien in his treatment of Gawain indulges in a species of hero worship. Gawain appears in every romance and is conspicuous in three; [103] in fact in the *Conte du Graal* his achievements occupy practically half the narrative.[104a]

Often he is entitled *mes sire;* and again and again does Crestien attribute to him the virtues present in the Gawain of the *Brut*. *1.* As Arthur's sister's son, he is always on the king's right hand [104b] (*E* 2286, *C* 2350, 5084; *Y* 2380, 2717; *P* 4048). *2.* He is always a figure of distinction both as a soldier and a man of gentle birth and is frequently a peer of the technical hero (*E* 1691, 9062, 2129; *C* 4923, 4917, 4951; *Y* 2395, 2401, 4790, 5851, 6447; *P* 4650, 4448, 5490). *3.* He has a sense of ironical humor (*Y* 2431, 2533). *4.* Everywhere his words and actions are marked by sense, especially by tact and justice (*E* 39, 299, 308, 4112; *C* 5168; *L* 226, 392; *Y* 2395, 2411, 2484) *Mesure* (*P* 4741, 5149, 8082) *Cortoisie* (*E* 4093; *Y* 2411; *P* 4311, 4393, 5337, 5454, 5786, 7931, 8096). *5.* His behavior is distinguished by reasonable pride and self confidence, and by the dignity of character belonging to the nobly born and bred,—the *mult grant aïr* of Wace's Gawain (*E* 4104; *L* 6505; *Y* 3698, 4083;

[102] See pp. 37; 81; 110, and n. 101 *b*.

[103] *Lancelot, Yvain, Perceval.* See also p. 46.

[104a] The *Conte* = 9199 lines. To Perceval are given 4814; to Gawain, 4385.

[104b] Nitze, *MP* IX, 26, n. 4, remarks upon Arthur's reliance upon Gawain.

*P* 5258, 4365, 4717). To these virtues Crestien adds frankness (*E* 4094); Gawain never hides his name from those who ask it,[105] (*Y* 6264; *P* 5583, 8795); generosity, and a knowledge of healing herbs (*P* 6874). Except for the latter trait there is nothing here that does not find a parallel in the character of Wace's Gawain. If, as Miss Weston says,[106] Crestien's poems represent the earliest and most primitive form of the Gawain stories, then the possibility of diverse sources for the character of Gawain is lessened, and the chances that in personality Crestien's Gawain has been here influenced by the chronicle are more than likely.

When these various details are put together it is evident that Wace probably had considerable influence on Crestien's portrayal of such of his characters as are found in the *Brut*. This conclusion seems the more apparent when we differentiate the men from their actions. If we try to parallel their exploits we discover that the borrowings are few;[107] but if personality is considered, there is scarcely a character whose traits do not appear to a greater or less extent in the *Brut*. It is possible that Crestien borrowed from Wace the Arthur of *Cligès*, the nobler Kay, practically all of Gawain's character, Baudemagus, Aguisel, Lot, Bedver, Ygerne, Utherpendragon; some details for Yvain son of Urien, Yder son of Nut, Guinevere of the *Charrete*, and the name Cadovalanz. The only figure in the table that cannot be traced to Wace is Merlin, since with Crestien he is nothing but a name.

[105] This is a trait of Erec's also (*E* 1059, 4153, 6034). Possibly since Crestien used it for Erec first, he later borrowed it for Gawain.

[106] *Gawain*, 8.

[107] Exceptions are Angrès, Rion, and the Arthur of *Cligès*.

## Chapter IV

### *Geography*

### *Bretaigne and Breton*

One of the cruxes in the geography of Arthurian romance is in the terms *Bretaigne* and *Breton*. When Crestien, for instance, uses *Bretaigne* does he mean Great Britain (or England), Wales, or Brittany? When he employs the term *Breton* does he mean the inhabitants of England, of Wales, or of Brittany? This problem has received detailed investigation by Brugger (*ZfS* XX, 79 ff.; XXVII, 69 ff.) and Lot (*Rom.* XXIV, 497 ff.; XXV, 1 ff., and XXVIII, 1 ff.) with the result thus formulated by Brugger (*op. cit.*, 83 ff.). Mediaeval writers use the term *Bretaigne* in three different senses:

I. *Bretaigne* means the island inclusive or exclusive of Scotland before and during the Germanic conquest; also the realm of King Arthur.

II. *Bretaigne* means *Armorica,* the present Brittany on the continent, after the British migration of the fifth century.

III. *Bretaigne* means the island inclusive or exclusive of Scotland, but especially England after the Germanic conquest.

*Breton* signifies the inhabitants of *Bretaigne* I, exclusive of Scotland, naturally, and of Bretaigne II. It does not seem to designate the inhabitants of Bretaigne III.[1a] In addition to these two meanings *Breton* denotes the remnant of Britons occupying the districts of Wales, Cornwall and Strathclyde, especially Wales, after the Germanic conquest; but the districts themselves inhabited under these circumstances were never designated as Bretaigne. *Bretaigne* III is simply England, or England and Scotland together. Therefore *Breton* may mean the Welsh, but *Bretaigne* does not mean Wales. *Bretaigne* III, and *Breton* denoting the remnant of the British race in England after the Germanic conquest are distinctly learned terms employed chiefly by Latin writers.[1b] *Breton* meaning the inhabitants of Armorica and *Breton* meaning the British remnant are of rare occurrence.[2]

[1a] See *ZfS* XX, 84.

[1b] This is, according to Brugger's investigation. He has not included the *Rou* in his studies. There, *Breton* invariably refers to the inhabitants of Armorica. *See* p. 116

[2] Lot agrees with Brugger (*Rom.* XXVIII, 2 ff.) on the explanation of *Bretaigne,* but partially differs with him on that of *Breton* (*op. cit.*, 5 ff.)

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that when a single term is employed in such a diversity of meanings there is bound to be confusion. Most writers both in Latin and in the vernacular doubtless used the terms *Bretaigne, Breton* indifferently to denote insular or continental relations. They did not care to make a distinction, for the people of whom they were speaking belonged to one and the same race. The confusion, once begun in the chronicle histories or in current speech, crept into the romances with the result that it is impossible at times to tell with certainty whether the author means insular Britain and its people, or the land and people of continental Britain.

Geoffrey of Monmouth,[3] however, seems to have observed a careful distinction between *Britannia-Bretones* I and *Britannia-Bretones* II.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Britannia* II *HRB* | V, xii | (a) regnum Armoricum, quod nunc Britannia dicitur. |
| | | (b) altera Britannia. |
| | V, xiv | per universas Armorica regni fecitque alteram Britannican. |
| | V, xvi | ad Armoricam quae jam altera Britannia vocabatur. |
| | VI, iv | in minorem Brittanniam quae tunc Armorica sive Letania dicebatur. |
| | VII, iii | in Armorica regno. |
| *Britones* II | V, xv | Armoricosque Britones. |
| | IX, ii | Hoelus - - - - - - ex Dubricio rege Armoricanorum Britonum. |
| | IX, xii | Hoelus dux Armoricanorum Britonum. |
| | IX, xv | Hoelo rege " " |
| | IX, xvi | Hoelus rex " " |
| | X, v | " dux " |
| | X, ix | Donec venerunt ad aciem Armoricanorum. Britonum quam Hoelus et Walgainus regnabant. |
| | X, xi | Impetum in Armoricanos faciunt. |
| | XI, i | Dimisso Hoelo duce Armoricanorum Britones. |
| | X, vi | Hoelus dux Armoricanorum. |

[3] The discussions of Lot and Brugger deal almost entirely with the *Lais*.

Thus Geoffrey never fails to modify the terms *Britannia* and *Bretones* when he means the land and people of Brittany.

Wace, in his *Brut,* has not only made numerous insertions respecting Armorica and its people, but he has failed to follow Geoffrey's distinction. He designates Brittany by three different terms

I. Armoriche, 796, 6031, 6081, 6473, 6476, 7745, 7916, 14462.

II. Bretaigne le menur, 6071, 6837, 9377, 13173, 14463, 4288.

So far, he follows Geoffrey, but the name he most frequently uses to describe the continental district is the one he generally employs for Great Britain or England: simply,

III. Bretaigne, 794, 795, 2082, 3927, 6073, 6082, 6137, 6475, 14619, 14630, 15133.

It is always possible to tell, however, whether Wace means insular or Continental Britain. His use of *Breton* for the people of Brittany is rare. The word in this sense occurs but four times in the whole *Brut:* 9995, 13199, 13682, 14468. Lines 9995[4] and 13682[4] mentioning respectively the Round Table as fabled about by the Britons, and Arthur's return which Wace says they expect, must refer to the Armorican Britons. Line 13199 certainly alludes to the Armoricans, for it is part of a passage describing the valor of *Cil de Bretaigne la menur* who were led to battle by their Duke Hoel (13173 ff). Line 14468 alludes to the fact that the Britons of Armorica are descended from insular Britons. Thus in these four instances of the use of *Breton* for the Armoricans, Wace, though not distinguishing the terms, seems to be clear.

Wace's practice in the *Rou* is in accord with the principles formulated by Brugger. The new name for England, *Engleterre,* rules throughout except in two cases where the author says he is giving the archaic names:

I. p. 13, v. 81 Engleterre Bretaine out nun.

II. p. 29, v. 15 Engleterre Bretainne out nun.

Everywhere else *Bretaigne* means Brittany. Armorica is an archaism also and occurs but twice: I, p. 14, v. 85; II, p. 30, v. 25. *Breton* refers invariably to the people of Brittany. After the Germanic people became the chief race of the island,[5] the inhabi-

[4] Lot (*Rom.* XXIV, 507, n. 4) seems to think that these are the only lines referring to the Armorican Britons.

[5] *See ZfS* XX, 84.

tants were generally called "English" even while, among the learned, the old term *Bretaigne* was still employed. In the *Rou,* Wace is writing of a time when the new names had become firmly established. *Bretaigne,* meaning England and *Armorica* are archaisms and of rare occurrence; hence there was no cause for confusion. The *Rou* then may be excluded from this discussion, since it cannot have affected the romancers in their confusion of names.

By comparing the *Historia* and the *Brut* in their use of *Brittannia, Bretones; Bretaigne, Breton* we can see how the distinction came gradually to break down. Geoffrey uses different names to designate the different places and peoples. Wace employs one name to designate the two places and peoples but is still clear in the use of it. This confusion finds illustration in the works of Crestien.

*Bretaigne* occurs but twice in *Erec.* The first instance, *Nantes en Bretaingne,* (6553) will be treated later (pp. 121 ff.) The second case is perfectly clear (6696): Crestien is speaking of a quantity of silver that had been accumulating since the time of Merlin *par tote Bretaingne.* This is treasure belonging to Arthur which he dispenses at the coronation. Hence *Bretaigne* must mean England or Great Britain, not Brittany.[6]

*Bretaigne* is found more frequently in *Cligès* than anywhere else. The meaning of the term in lines 16, 77, 114, 2397, 2410, 4219, 4224, 4255, 4310, 4317, 4325, 4477, 5167, 5181, 5206, 5208, 5296, is obviously "Great Britain." In lines 423, 438, 1051, 1059, 1089, 1102, 6703 the meaning is just as clearly "Brittany." But line 5066 is doubtful. Crestien says:

> Cligès avuec le roi demore
> Jusqu'au novelement d'esté,
> S'a par tote Bretaingne esté
> Et par France et par Normandie.

The connecting of Bretaigne with France and Normandy at once causes ambiguity. This combination of names occurs again in a

[6] It is difficult to tell from Crestien's use of *Bretaigne,* meaning the island, whether he means "Great Britain" or simply "England." Occasionally he writes *Engleterre;* this leaves us in no doubt. Of course, his idea of *Bretaigne* the island is the territory ruled over immediately by and subject to Arthur. On this basis Scotland would be included and *Bretaigne* would indicate "Great Britain." I have thus regarded it in this discussion except where the difference is indicated.

place where the meaning is perfectly clear. Arthur in preparing an armament to go against Constantinople is assisted by

6702 Tote Angleterre, totes Flandres,
Normandie, France et Bretaingne.

The presence of *Angleterre* in this group leaves no doubt as to the signification of *Bretaingne;* it is of course "Brittany." But because *Bretaingne* means Brittany in this group, does this necessitate its denoting Brittany in the other? Since Cligès was with the king who we know was in England at the time, we would naturally think that *Bretaingne* was Great Britain; but since he was during this period out of the island long enough to go into France and Normandy, it does not at all follow that Bretaigne is Great Britain; it could just as well be Brittany. Moreover, Crestien says: He was with the king till the beginning of summer *and* [*si*] he went *par tote Bretaingne* etc. The *si* rather separates the two ideas: his being with the king and his going through Bretaigne, France and Normandie, thus throwing *Bretaingne* closer to the second element of the sentence than the first. We have here a real puzzle. Though the balance weighs a little more heavily in favor of Brittany than of Great Britain, it is not enough to be decisive.

*Bretaigne* occurs but once in the *Charrete* where it means England:

3905 Le roi Artu iert la bataille,
Qui tient Bretaingne et Cornoaille.

With this exception the word to denote England is, in *Lancelot,* Logres.[7]

In *Yvain* the only name for Great Britain is *Bretaigne* which occurs but three times: 1, 2329, 2546. *Bretaigne* is not found here in any other sense.

In the *Perceval* the name for Great Britain is exclusively Logres. *Bretaigne* meaning Armorica does not occur.

Crestien seems to use *Breton* both in its broadest sense (not heretofore noted) referring to Brythonic Celts in general, and with a more restricted meaning to denote either insular or continental Britons. The connotation of *Breton* in *E* 652 *Erec m'ape-*

[7] According to Loth, *Mab.* 100, n. 1, *Logres* is used in the romances in the restricted sense: "Loegr ou Loeggr est le nom que les Gallois donnent à l'Angleterre proprement dite au sud de l'Humber." See this study, p. 56.

*lent li Breton,* may be Bretons in general.[8] The other occurrence of Breton in *Erec,* indicates the Armoricans:

6646 Normanz, Bretons, Escoz, Irois;
D'Angleterre et de Cornoaille.

*Cligès,* vv. 440, 567, refer clearly to the Armoricans. The *Breton* here are the people Arthur goes to visit across the sea in Brittany. *Li Breton* receive joyfully the news of his coming, and welcome him just as good vassals should. (See p. 84) Line 2603, however, is ambiguous. Alexander says to his son, Cligès:

.....ja ne savras
Conoistre, conbien tu avras
De proesce ne de vertu,
Se a la cort le roi Artu
Ne te vas esprover einçois
Et as Bretons et as François.

The ideas *Bretons* and *François* are thrown together, and as one, are separated from the idea "Arthurian court," just as in the case of Bretaigne above. We simply cannot tell with certainty whether Crestien means the people of England or of Brittany, or Brythonic Celts in general.

*Breton* does not occur in any sense in *Lancelot* or in *Perceval.* It is found once in *Yvain* where it seems to mean Bretons in general (37).[9]

Though Crestien is generally clear in his use of these terms, there are four cases, two for *Bretaigne* (*E* 6553, *C* 5066) and two for *Breton* (*E* 651, *C* 2608) where he is ambiguous.

The employment of these names in the double sense, if it did not reach Crestien through oral sources probably came to him from Wace. This does not mean that the *Brut* is directly responsible for the ambiguity, but it does mean, as above stated, that Wace by using, however clearly, the same word to denote entirely different ideas made ambiguity possible for later writers who were either indifferent to, or did not wish to observe the distinction.[10]

[8] Lot, *Rom.* XXVIII, 18 f., recognizes such a connotation.

[9] Foerster, *Yvain* (1891) XV, takes this to mean Armoricans.

[10] Thomas's use of *Bretaigne* in the double sense is probably owing to the *Brut.* He is clear, however, except in one instance, 2123, which after all probably means England, See Bédier, ed. II, 455, gloss. It is possible that Thomas as well as Wace may have influenced Crestien in this respect. *Breton* is found but once, 3076, and means "people of Brittany."

In this connection there is another respect in which Crestien recalls Wace's practice. That is the coupling of Bretaigne or Angleterre with Cornwall:

*Erec,* 6647 D'Angleterre et de Cornoaille.
*Cligès,* 80 An Bretaingne n'an Cornoaille.
*Cligès,* 1480 Cil de Gales et de Bretaingne.
Et d'Escoce, et de Cornoaille.
*Lancelot,* 3906 Qui tient Bretaingne et Cornoaille.
(See p. 56).

The habit of mentioning these places together probably started with Wace and ultimately of course with Geoffrey. Both chroniclers tell how Brutus and Coreneus in the early days divided the island of Albion between them and how each named his portion of the territory after himself,—whence Britain and Cornwall.[11] This distinction may be said to contribute a new meaning for Bretaigne, a meaning which appears to have been suggested to Crestien by Wace, that is: England exclusive of Wales, Scotland and Cornwall. This seems to be the most limited sense in which the term is employed. (*Cligès* 80, 1480).

Wales is always carefully differentiated by Wace from Bretaigne, Engleterre, Escoce, and Cornoailles. Note lines 2251, 5189, 5856, 7491, 8391, 8419, 8493, 12595, 13922, 14380, 15195, and see especially *HRB* XII, xix and *Brut* 15255, 15279 ff. where these authors state particularly that the inhabitants of Wales after they were subdued by the barbarians: *jam non vocabantur Britones sed Gualenses; Les remenailles des Bretons Que nos or Galois apelons.* These passages exactly illustrate Brugger's Breton IV (*ZfS* XX, 85) Crestien, also, is careful to observe the distinction: *Gales, E* 6649; *C* 1461, 1480, 2369; *P* 481, 2715, 4097; *Y* 7 *Carduel en Gales* (see p. 73 f.). *Galois, C* 1824, 2427, 4828; *E* 1526, 1738; *P* 233, 241, 583, 589, 769, 3537. Thus Crestien, unless he got his idea from current speech, was probably following Wace in his use of *Bretaigne, Breton* in the double sense; in the coupling of Bretaigne and Cornwall; and in the sharp distinction between Wales and the Welsh on one hand and Great Britain and its inhabitants on the other.

The following table summarizes Crestien's use of the terms above discussed.

[11] *HRB* I, xvi; *Brut,* 1201 ff.

*Bretaigne*

1. Great Britain or Arthur's realm.
   The most common meaning, seen in *E, C, Y.*
2. England as distinct from Cornwall, Wales and Scotland.
   *C* 80, 1480; *L* 3906.
3. Armorica, *C.*

*Breton*

1. Brythonic Celts in general, i. e. Celts ruled over by Arthur both in the Island and in Armorica and not always distinguished from each other. *E* 652, *C* 2608, *Y* 37.
2. Armoricans exclusive of other Celts, *C.*
   *Gales*—Wales as distinct from the rest of Arthur's territory. *E, C, Y, P.*
   *Galois*—The Welsh as distinct from Arthur's other subjects. *E, C, P.*

### *Carnant and Nantes*

The interpretation of Nantes en Bretaingne (*E* 6553) depends upon the locality of Erec's kingdom, a question which scholars view differently. According to Foerster [12] and Zimmer,[12] the capital of Erec's realm is Nantes on the Loire. According to G. Paris, Loth, and Lot [13] it is in Great Britain. There is a Kelli-Carnant in Gwent, South Wales, and a Ros-Carnant in Cornwall.

In identifying Erec's capital with Nantes on the Loire, Zimmer finds evidence in support of his theory for the Armorican origin of Arthurian romance. Erec's prototype is Eoricus, king of the West Goths in 466 who conquered South Gaul between the Rhone and the Loire. From *d'estre Gales,* the reading of the best MSS, Zimmer evolves *Dextra Gallia,* or the land conquered by Eoricus. The form *Dextra Gallia* was found he thinks in the tales of the romanized Britons (Armoricans) through whom Arthurian legend was transmitted to the literature of Northern France.

Paris and Loth identify Erec with a celebrated Armorican hero named Weroc, whose country was called Bro-Weroc or "Land of

[12] *Karrenritter* CXV; *ZfS* XIII (1891) 35.

[13] Paris, *Rom.* XX (1891) 157, 166; Loth, *RC* XIII, 482, 503, n. Lot, *Rom.* XXV (1896) 588 f.; Brugger, *ZfS* XXVII (1908) 75 ff. rejects the theories of both groups, offering one which does not seem very plausible.

Weroc," but they think Carnant is in England and has been confused by Crestien with Nantes on the Loire. D'outre Gales or D'estre Gales they think a portion of Wales. Lot shows that there was an Erec <Guerec, count of Nantes, son of Alain Barbe-Torte who ruled the city together with his brother Hoel until the latter's death in 981, after which he ruled alone until his own death about 990. Both Guerec and Hoel were the subject of legendary recitals. The primitive hero bore the name Geraint [14] which has nothing to do with Erec. Geraint was crowned at Carnant in insular Cornwall. The count of Nantes has inherited the history of Geraint, whence the confusion.[15] This seems to be a plausible explanation. The error could have arisen with either Crestien or his source, most probably with the latter. The theory is supported by the fact of Crestien's using both terms. Carnant (2315) and Nantes (6553, 6562, 6584, 6654, 6865). Since Carnant is comparatively unimportant and occurs but once, the form may be an error on the part of either Crestien or his scribe, but this is not likely; the MSS [16] are unanimous for *Carnant* in the one place and *Nantes* in the other five.

It may be argued that as the main scene of *Erec* is insular,[17] if Crestien intended the hero's capital to be at Nantes he would have described Arthur's sea voyage thither or at least have mentioned his embarkation, but this does not necessarily follow. Although in *Cligès,* where the scene shifts from England to Brittany to Greece and back to England, the poet is careful to inform us of nearly all departures and arrivals,[18] in *Yvain,* with the scene at *Carduel en Gales* and Chester, the Breton forest of Broceliande is introduced and yet there is no mention of a passage of the sea (see pp. 123 f.). Thus, the failure to mention a sea voyage militates neither for nor against any particular locality for Erec's realm. The fact that *Nantes* occurs repeatedly in the coronation passage which is far removed from the passage containing *Carnant* shows that Crestien, in this scene, doubtless had in mind Nantes on the Loire. The expression, *Nantes en Bretaingne* (6553) is as much

[14] Geraint was king of Devon, 675ca (*Rom.* XXV, 11).

[15] See also Edens, R., Erec—Geraint, (Rostock diss. and Preisschrift) 1910, p. 142.

[16] See "Large *E*," MS variants.

[17] Witness the Arthurian court at Cardigan, Tintagel, etc.

[18] vv. 235, 423, 1096, 2402, 2410, 4325, 4578, 5117, 6682 ff.

of a puzzle as *Carduel en Gales*. The only solution of the problem is that it is a clear case of confusion and simply offers another proof of Crestien's indifference to his geography.

It may be added that Zimmer[19] in support of his view argues that the dependencies represented at the coronation (6646)—Anjou, Le Maine and Poitou naturally owe allegiance to Erec, but the others present—the Normans, Bretons, Scotch, Irish, those from Cornwall and England are Arthur's vassals. I do not see any good reason for this distinction, but I do find a good reason against it. If we turn to the *Brut* 10367 we find that Poitou and Anjou are both mentioned as conquests made under the direction of Arthur, and the people of these provinces are later distinctly named as Arthur's vassals. Arthur summons to his coronation *Tuz ses baruns* (10498) among them are *Poitevins* and *Angevins* (10505). Again, Arthur summons his barons to prepare for the war with Rome (11403). Among them are *Cil.....d'Anjou et de Poitou* (11418). It has already been shown that this coronation passage in the *Erec* has probably been imitated partly from the Brut (pp. 18 ff.). Therefore, it seems more than likely that Crestien means here, vassals of Arthur, not of Erec, especially since it is Arthur who orders them called (6560). This is but another proof of Crestien's indifference to his geography.

*Broceliande.* Another problem to be met is the location of Broceliande in the *Yvain*. Has Crestien transported the Breton forest to England for the purpose of his fountain story or are we to consider the fountain, and hence Laudine's realm as situated in Brittany? Let us examine the text. The story opens with the court at *Carduel en Gales* (7). This points at least to an insular location (see pp. 73 ff.). Three visits are made to the fountain each by a different person. Visit I. Calogrenanz (175 ff.) The starting point is not named, but nothing is said about a sea voyage. However, as we have no point of departure the evidence offered by this visit is invalidated. Visit II. Yvain (747 ff.) The starting point is Carduel en Gales. He goes

762 . . . . chascun jor tant
Par montaingnes et par valees
Et par forez longues et lees,

[19] Brugger agrees, *ZfS* XX, 90.

Par leus estranges et sauvages,
Et passa mainz felons passages.

It seems strange in such a detailed description not to find some mention of a sea voyage if Crestien had one in mind. Of course *passages* may be interpreted as a sea journey, but the adjective *mainz* rather suggests mountain defiles, for Yvain would not be crossing *many* seas. Then too, there is no mention of a ship. Visit III. Arthur and his court (2171). The journey is not described; the scene opens with Arthur already at the fountain. This account, also, must be ruled out.

We have left then a visit made by Yvain to the fountain of Broceliande. He starts from Carduel en Gales and his journey is entirely inland. Broceliande, too, may be regarded as a case of confusion. Crestien has laid his scene in the western part of the island as shown by the mention of Carduel (7) and Chester (2680), but he needed the fountain Broceliande for the purpose of his story and he took it regardless of its geographical location. He was not thinking of geography but of the psychological problem involved in the events that were about to take place by the side of this fountain, hence inaccuracy here is natural and justifiable.[20]

### *General Geography*

Another evidence of Crestien's indebtedness to Wace is in the general geography of *Erec* and *Cligès* in comparison with that of the other romances. By far the greater number of names common to Wace and Crestien are to be found in these two poems, as the table shows.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Angleterre [21] | E | C | L | |
| Anjo | E | | | |
| Avalon | E | | | |
| Bade | | | L | |
| Bretaingne I | E | C | L | Y |

[20] I would not seem to push this theory of Crestien's geographical indifference too far; indifference seems evident in most cases but in *Cligès* Crestien is remarkably accurate in his insular geography. (See pp. 125, 129). There is, as I shall try to show, a reason for this. Foerster confirms this opinion of Crestien's indifference to geography as follows: "Eine letzte Bemerkung über die Geographie unseres Romans (*Yvain*). Der Dichter kennt keine—ist die anwort. Die Sturmquelle liegt zwar sicher in der festländischen Bretagne (v. 189, 697), während Artus seinen Hof, wo das Quellenabenteuer Calogrenanz erzählt wird, ebenso sicher in Carduel (v. 7) und ein ander Mal in Cestre (v. 2680)—also beidemal auf der Insel Brittannien hält. Von irgend einer Seefahrt, die doch von Carduel aus nach Broceliande nötig ist, ist nirgends die Rede." *Yvain*, 3rd ed. LIII.

[21] Crestien's spelling has been followed.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bretaingne II | E(?)[22] | C | | | |
| Broceliande | | | | Y | |
| Cantorbire | E | C | | | |
| Carlion | | | L | | P |
| Cestre | | | | Y | |
| Cornoaille | E | C | L | | |
| Dovre | | C | | | |
| Escoce | E | C | | | |
| Evroïc | E | | | | |
| France | E | C | | | |
| Flandres | | C | | | (P)[23] |
| Gales | E | C | | Y | P |
| Galinguefort | | C | | | |
| Gavoie, Galvoie | E | | | | P |
| Gloeçestre | E | | | | |
| Guincestre | | C | | | |
| Hantone | | C | | | |
| Irlande | E | | | | |
| Londres | | C | L | | |
| Logres | | | L | | P |
| Normandie | | C | | | |
| Orcanie | | | | | P |
| Ossenefort | | C | | | |
| Peitou | E | | | | |
| Tamise | | C | | | |
| Tintaguel | E | | | | P |
| | 15-16 | 17 | 7 | 4 | 6 |

This proportion is exactly what one would expect from the preceding discussion as to Crestien's relation to Wace in episodes and characters. On the whole, *Erec* and *Cligès* stand much nearer Wace than do the other romances. This matter of geographical names but confirms the conclusions already reached. Of course it is scarcely worth while to point out that isolated names such as England, London, France, Normandy would be no indication of borrowing from the *Brut;* but the groupings of these names and

[22] See pp. 121 ff.

[23] Mentioned only in connection with Philip of Flanders in the dedication. It has nothing to do with the geog. of the story, hence I exclude it.

others, and the numbers in which they occur in a single romance, imply, since we find similar groupings in the *Brut,* an influence from that source. A mere glance at parallel tables of place-names in Wace's chronicles and Crestien's romances would immediately suggest, without going further, the near relation of *Erec* and *Cligès* to the chronicles and the remoteness of the others, especially, *Yvain,* the connection of which with the histories hangs by a very slender thread.

Some of these place-names need to be examined in detail.

*Avalon.* Crestien gives Avalon but a passing mention, in the list of wedding guests in *Erec* 1954:

> Et Guigomars ses frere, i vint;
> De l'Isle d'Avalon fu sire.

This reference is not likely to have come from Wace since his only allusions to the place are in connection with Arthur's sword which he tells us was forged in l'Ile d'Avalon, and in respect to the passing of Arthur (*B* 9516, 13683). The only possibility of chronicle influence here is through the connection of Avalon with the Arthurian court, but the relation is so slight as scarcely to admit of such a conjecture.[24]

*Escoce.* The use of *Escoce* in *Erec* 1970, and in *Cligès* 1481 is reminiscent of Arthur's conquests in Scotland recounted in the *Brut.* Aguisel, king of Scotland, was a vassal of Arthur's (9870). Escoce in the above lines indicates a feudal relation with Arthur.

*Galvoie.* Among the vassals whom the Arthur of the *Brut* summons to the coronation are *ceus de Galewée* (10515). The editor explains *Galewée* as "Galway, ville d' Irelande dans la province de Connaught" (*B* II, p. 97, n. 1). This is probably an error. The Galvoie of the romances, often mentioned in connection with the Orkneys, seems to have been identical with the present Galloway, a portion of Southwestern Scotland on Solway Firth.[25a]

In *Erec* (6818) *Li rois de Gavoie,* together with Gawain, is sent to conduct Enide to the Queen. Therefore he is a vassal of Arthur's and the passage may echo Wace's lines which name *ceus de Galewée* as Arthur's retainers. Galvoie occurs three times in

[24] On Avalon and its place in Arthurian literature see Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, 497 ff., XXVII, 529 ff.; Paris, *Rom.* XXVII, 573 n., XXX (1901) 17; *Kritische Jahresbericht* II, 466; Warren, *MLN* XIV (1899) col. 93.

[25a] *See* p. 142, n. 17 and *Yvain,* 2nd ed. p. 208; Lot, *Rom.* XXV, 3.

*Perceval* where it seems to have no historical significance and may signify an other-world region (6564, 8349, 8612). It is clearly here a place whence no traveler is supposed to return, and is situated on the sea.[25b]

*Hantone.* When Alexander and his companions reach Britain they land at Hantone:

*C* 272 Sans grant peril et sanz esmai
Vindrent au port dessoz Hantone.

They remain *dessoz Hantone* over night (287) and the next morning they leave *dessoz Hantone* for Winchester (300) where Arthur is then residing. Hantone, the present Southampton, is an important port in the chronicles. Geoffrey employs invariably the form *portus-um Hamonis.* According to his etymology, the place was named for Hamo, a Roman leader who was killed there (IV, xiii). Wace in the *Brut* also uses this form,[26] in every instance but one, and there he has *Suthantone* (11471). He employs both forms in the *Rou* also: Hantone, Sohantone. G. Paris, in commenting on the Hantone passage [27a] in the *Cligès,* suggests that the proper reading is *de* or *-a Sozhantone* or Southampton. This seems a reasonable suggestion. On looking at the text we find that although the reading *dessoz Hantone* could stand for lines 273 and 287, it is not clear for line 300. To say (when they are already at Hampton): "They turned below Hampton" and took the straight road, etc., is not intelligible, but: They turned *from* Southampton etc. is perfectly clear. The change to *Sozhantone* in 287 necessitates another alteration, the preposition *de*(s) must become *a;* Paris makes this emendation. This requires altogether four changes in the MS. Good as the emendation is, there are three objections to it. 1. It requires too many changes in the MS. 2. All the MSS [27b]

[25b] See Miss Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval,* London, 1906, I, 186.

[26] The spelling varies however: Port de Haustone 2667; Hanstone, 5115; port a Hantosne, 9395; Hantone, 13587.

[27a] *JdS,* 1902, 63.

[27b] See "Large *Cligès,*" MS variants. Foerster's view in *Cligès,* 3rd ed. p. 187, n. 273 confirms objection *3* to Paris's emendations. "Alle HSS. geben *des*(*s*)*oz hantone,* 287 SCTR, *dessoz. h.* oder *de h,* A P, was Pa[ris] in *de Soz hantone* ändern will, der das widersprechende 287 gewaltsam in; *A Sozhantone* bessert, 'nom usité dans des chroniques et romans du XIIe siècle, tandisque Hamptone ou Hantone simplement ne figure que dans les poemes de Bovon de H'—Allein die sämmtlichen Hss sind dagegen; ferner steht *Hantone* auch D M 97, Mg 6227, s. Langlois: Table [des noms propres], während ein *Sozhantone* bei ihm gar nicht zu finden ist." As we have seen, Wace's practice in the use of Hantone shows Paris's statement to be incorrect.

unite in dividing the word as Foerster has it in his texts. 3. *Hantone* is the form used by Wace in every case but one, and therefore would offer a source for Crestien's *Hantone*. Of course it is obvious that the meaning is "Southampton," but whether Crestien intended to write Southampton is another question. *Dessoz* is a common enough preposition to admit of being used with Hantone without implying an error in the writing. It seems to me that Crestien may have had before him both of Wace's forms: *Hantone* and *Suthantone,* that he used deliberately the form Hantone in 273 and 287, but that in 300 he either confused his forms and so made a line that was not clear or intended to write what would read *De Sozhantone,* but made the wrong division. The latter may have been a scribal error.

*Orcanie.* In the Gawain part of the *Perceval* Arthur holds his court at Orcanie (8853, 9065, 9127, 9155). This circumstance is also reminiscent of Wace. Among the foreign kings who submit to Arthur during his wars for the conquest of Britain is Gonvals *qui ert rois d'Orquenie* (9945). Later, among the coronation guests are *Cels qui tindrent Orcanée* (10516). The connection between these passages in the *Brut* and the *Perceval* is obvious. Arthur has many royal residences among which it is his habit to move frequently even in the course of one romance. That he should plan to keep Pentecost in the territory of one of his vassals is not at all surprising.

There is another possible tie here between Wace and Crestien. According to the chronicles Gawain's father, Lot, is made by Arthur, king of Norway. Loth [28] says that the title "king of Orcanie" frequently given Lot in the French romances is equivalent to *roi de Norwège,* for in early times the extreme north of the continent and the adjacent islands were all called "Norwegia." We may remember that Arthur conquers all this territory at the time he bestows Norway upon Lot: Islande, (9941) Orquenie (9945,) Gallande (the island of Gothland in the Baltic Sea, 9946) Norguingue (Norway 10050) Danemarce (10124). The fact that Arthur holds his court in Orcanie nowhere else but in this one romance, and only in the Gawain portion of it, may be an echo of the historical relations between Gawain, Lot, Arthur, and Norway.

[28] *RC* XVI (1895) 86.

*Tintaguel.* The connection of Arthur with Tintagel is another clearly historical allusion. In *Erec* Arthur is holding court there in the latter part of the story (6518, 6528). Among the wedding guests, there is a certain Daviz de Tintaguel (1959), and in *Perceval* a combat is held between Melianz de Liz and Tiebaut de Tintaguel (4696 ff.) These last references are not significant, but the first two probably go back to the chronicle story of the amour of Uther and Ygerne, and of Arthur's birth. (See pp. 103 f., 108 ff.). It is natural that the romancer should have Arthur reside at Tintagel in memory of his parents' amour.

### *Crestien in England*

After the geographical difficulties into which Crestien is constantly plunging his readers, the comparative accuracy with which he describes places in the Arthurian part of *Cligès* suggests the possibility of his personal knowledge of the scene he here portrays. The story opens with the court at Winchester, famous in chronicle history as the scene of Uther's coronation, and in Crestien's day, still the capital of England. Alexander, arriving at Southampton, takes the straight road (301) to Winchester. The inference is that the distance is not great; this agrees with actual conditions, for the road from Southampton to Winchester is a straight stretch of little more than ten miles. Next, Arthur in Brittany gets news of Angrès's treachery, from London and Canterbury by way of Dover (1054). When Arthur with his troops gathered in Brittany, reaches England he goes directly to London, where he makes preparations to move on to Windsor, the stronghold in which Angrès has secured himself (1210 ff.). Windsor is then described, (1238) in a purely conventional way, however, but the account of the situation may be noticed:

1256 Li chastiaus sist an un pui haut
Et par dessoz li cort Tamise,
Sor la riviere est l'oz assise,
* * * * * * *
1261 L'oz s'est sor Tamise logiee:
Tote la pree est herbergiee
Des pavellons verz et vermauz.
Es colors se fiert li solauz
S'an reflanboie la riviere
Plus d'une grant liue pleniere.

When the first sally is made, the one in which Alexander wins his spurs, the Greeks: *El gué tuit an un frois s'esleissent* (1317). This gives us the exact situation of Arthur's troops. They are on the east bank of the river, encamped in the low meadowland,—just the position an army would take after having marched on Windsor from London. When the organized attack is made, the king has no difficulty in getting his army across the river because, the drought has made the fords very shallow (1485 ff.); a condition quite possible when we remember the low lying meadowland on the east bank of the Thames and the frequent shallows through this part of the course. When the army is across, one division is detailed to close in on the lower side of the castle which would mean going to the right, and the other portion, to mount the hill directly in front. Everything in the description seems to agree with the actual facts. The only difficulty is that there are many other castles answering to this description equally well. The commonest site for a redout was a hill with a river winding below it, both forming natural defenses. A glance at the chateaux along the Loire and its tributaries: Blois, Amboise, Loches, Chinon will show each crowning the top of a precipitous slope with a rather shallow river flowing at the foot. The evidence for Crestien's familiarity with Windsor is strong, but it is not conclusive.[29]

Again, in the Cligès portion of the narrative, Alexander and Soredamors on returning to Greece embark at Shoreham (2440). Shorham, some miles east of Southampton, is quite a possible point from which to sail; further, it is not mentioned in either chronicle. Later, Cligès when he visits England to receive that instruction in *proesce* and *vertu* which his father has urged, goes first to Galinguefort (Wallingford) where he learns that the court is about to engage in a tournament on the plains of Oxford, not far distant (4588 ff.). The relation of Wallingford to Oxford and the situation of the latter place in low-lying land are correctly given. Wallingford seems too unimportant a place to be mentioned by any one who had not been in the region. Crestien might have heard of it through other sources, however. Though it does not occur in

[29] Paris cites all of these illustrations, and especially Windsor as striking evidence in favor of Crestien's personal knowledge of these places. He thinks also that the mention of *Gloeçestre* and *Evroïc, Corque* in the *Erec* point in this direction likewise. (*JdS*, 1902, 302). See Foerster's comment on this view, *C*, 3rd ed. 1910, XXXIII, n.

the *Brut,* it does appear in the *Rou* and in close proximity to Oxford:

I, p. 211, v. 121, Oxenfort

I, p. 211, v. 128, Walingefort

According to Freeman's *Norman Conquest* Windsor, Wallingford, and Oxford were prominent in the Anglonorman period. "Windsor, Wallingford....were built in the course of William's reign (1066-1089)....Windsor was the most famous and abiding of all." (IV, 69) "Oxford castle founded by Robert of Oily 1072, a fortress that played a great part in the wars of the preceding century." (p. 46). Oxford, Wallingford and Windsor are castles defended by the Abbot of Abington between 1071 and 1084 (p. 339). The close association of the three names in the history of the period makes it possible for Crestien to have attained his information regarding them through some other channel than personal experience. Though he may have derived his names from the chronicles he did not get his topography from Wace, hence he must have known the ground himself or have obtained his information from some one else thoroughly familiar with it, perhaps from some one in Beauvais where he got his *livre.* The latter supposition, that the knowledge is second hand, is the more likely since he shows no such familiarity with English topography in his other romances. That Crestien should exhibit an accuracy here not evident in his other narratives is not surprising when we recall the close connection between the *Brut* and the *Cligès* in these passages. His close adherence to his source here may have led him to be more careful than usual with his locations.

## Chapter V

*Romantic Background—Social and Moral Ideas—Conclusions*

Under the caption "Romantic Background" may be discussed the Arthurian Court, the Round Table, the Castle of Maidens, and the Dolorous Mount.[1] Although these features find a place in the *Historia* and the *Brut* it is very improbable that they all reached Crestien through the chronicle source. With the exception of the Arthurian Court they have a distinctly popular flavor and suggest, rather than any obligation of Crestien to Wace, the more likely possibility that both Wace and Crestien go back to a common source. The Arthurian Court, however, is a literary creation established by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*See* pp. 4 ff.) and enlarged on by Wace; hence the likelihood of transmission through the chronicles is much less uncertain here than in some other cases.

Geoffrey presents the court of Arthur as a perfect organization, famous the world over as the model of elegance and prowess, the members of which are as invincible in the courtly exercises of love and the tourney as they are when on the battle field contending against the power of Rome. Wace's picture, by the addition of the Round Table, and a more chivalric and brilliant coloring, forms a romantic background ready made for the Arthurian poet. The most elaborate court scene is that of the grand coronation already treated in connection with the *Erec* marriage and coronation ceremonies (pp. 18 ff.). It will be necessary here only to emphasize the attractive details. The choice of time—the feast of Pentecost; the choice of location—the stately city of Carlion-upon-Usk with its deep forests, rich meadows, and ancient churches (10478); the busy scene of preparation that stirred the city to its farthest corners; the brilliant assemblage who represented Arthur's conquests from Ireland on the west to Italy on the east, from the islands of the far north to the very borders of Spain; the picturesque ceremony; the glittering banquet served by an ermine-clad retinue; the diversity of amusements provided; and, to crown all, Arthur's unexampled display of largess at the close,—the action, the pomp and pageantry of this scene to which Wace devotes

[1] The Dolorous Mt. is mentioned only in the *HRB.* (*see* pp. 9, 142 ff.).

450 lines, offers material that no Arthurian poet who had access to it, certainly not Crestien, would be likely to pass by.

We have already seen how Crestien probably utilized this passage for episodes; we shall now see how he used it for background [2a] purposes.

The change from the court of the chronicles to that of the romances is, like the change from the historical to the romantic Arthur, largely a matter of technique (*See* p. 48 and pp. 83 ff.). The Arthurian court, however, even in the chronicles is more or less of a background institution. It is only when the activities of war are over, when the heroes have won distinction in many quarters that they assemble at Carlion-upon-Usk to take part in a grand pageant testifying to the wealth and power of the great Arthur and the closeness of the bonds uniting his vast body of retainers (*B* 10455). And from this courtly gathering just as in romance the heroes go forth to seek new fame. At the dramatic moment, when the festivities have reached their height, enters the imperial Roman messenger. At once the revelry ceases, and the revelers disperse to the grim business of preparing for war (10901).

With Crestien the court is also at times a mere scene, a place through which knights are constantly passing on their way to and from adventure; but there is a difference. In Crestien's stories the court is a stationary factor. It is the center, and as was shown in treating the character of Arthur, it is the king himself who supports the institution. He remains while the knights come and go. Wherever our interest is allowed to drift in the course of the tale, we always know that we shall return at least once or twice either with the hero or with one of his victims to find Arthur holding court at Carduel, Chester, Robais, or some other of his numerous residences. In the chronicles the arrival of the Roman messenger is not, as is the coming of the Loathly Damsel in *Perceval* (4572), a signal for separation between Arthur and his knights; all go, with Arthur at their head, to prepare for war with Rome.

The custom of treating the court as a point of departure for knightly exercises of various sorts appears, as far as our evidence goes, to have started with Crestien, just as the conception of the inactive Arthur seems to have been introduced into romance by

[2a] *See GGr* II, i, 496.

Crestien. The function of the court is clear already in *Erec,* and in the subsequent romances it plays the same rôle. But even though it has in the romances become a background element it still shines with undiminished glory.

Crestien apparently set the fashion of bringing all chivalric enterprise into relation with Arthur and his circle. The surest way of arousing interest he doubtless found, was to introduce his audience to the Arthurian atmosphere as soon as circumstances permitted. (See p. 87). Thus *Erec, Lancelot,* and *Yvain* all open with a court scene. In accordance with this method, the poet in *Cligès* and *Perceval* connects with Arthur, stories originally foreign to Arthurian legend. At the beginning of the former tale Crestien hastens to tell us that the hero is *del lignage le roi Artu* (10); in the *Conte du Graal,* Perceval's first adventure is with an Arthurian knight (288); shortly afterwards it appears that the hero's father met with his reverses at the time of Uther Pendragon (419) and that one of Perceval's brothers went to learn arms at the court of king Ban of Gomeret (447) an Arthurian knight mentioned in *Erec* (1975); lastly, Gawain when he comes to the Castle Marvelous, finds there Ygerne the mother of Arthur [2b] (8706).

Crestien's pictures of the court all emphasize its power, magnificence, and fame.

*E* 27 Un jor de Pasque, au tans novel,
A Caradigan, son chastel,
Ot li rois Artus cort tenue.
Ains si riche ne fu veüe;
Car mout i ot buens chevaliers,
Hardiz et corageus et fiers,
Et riches dames et puceles,
Filles a rois, jantes et beles.

*E* 3882 Erec, fiz le roi Lac, ai non.
Rois est mes pere d'Outre-Gales.
Riches citez et beles sales
Et forz chastiaus a mout mes pere:
Plus n'an a rois ne anperere
Fors li roi Artu solemant.

[2b] On this subject see Nitze, *MP* IX (1912) 4, n. 1; 7, n. 3; Bruce, *op. cit.,* XXVII.

Celui an ost je voiremant,
Car a lui nus ne s'aparoille.

*E,* 6416 Le jor devant estoit seingniez
An ses chanbres priveemant;
Ansanble o lui ot solemant
Cinc çanz barons de sa meison.
Onques mes an nul seison
Ne fu trovez li rois si seus,
Si an estoit mout ángoisseus,
Que plus n'avoit jant a sa cort.

The four days' tournament held on the plains before Oxford is an indication of courtly grandeur, and the magnificent reception accorded to Arthur and his retinue on the occasion of their visit to Laudine is probably an echo from that brilliant circle. Laudine and her household, riding great Spanish horses, approach Arthur and salute him together with all his followers; the very castle walls resound with their ringing welcome; flags fly, the walks are covered with carpet, people throng the streets waiting to see the great king; curtains cover the roadways as a protection against the heat of the sun; and what with the noise of bells, horns, and drums, God could not have been heard to thunder there. Dancing girls play on flutes and tabors, youths leap and tumble, and the great lady herself, dressed in imperial ermine, her head garlanded with rubies, comes forward radiant and smiling to hold the stirrup of the king of kings and lords of this world.[3] (*Yvain* 2329 ff).

From the *Perceval* we learn that

3965 . a Carlion..
. li rois Artus cort tenoit
A feste bien priveemant
Qu'il n'i avoit que seulemant
Treis mile chevaliers de pris.

This bit of epic glorification is doubtless imitated from the passage in *Erec* above quoted, and has become a stock situation. The same observation may be made of *Yvain* 1 ff., *Perceval* 2747 ff., and 9180 ff.

Concerning the renown of the court, Crestien writes:

[3] This scene may also reflect actual custom. *See* pp. 26 ff.

*E* 652 Erec m'apelent li Breton.
De la cort al roi Artu sui,
Bien ai esté trois anz a lui.
Je ne sai, s'an ceste contree
Vint onques nule renomee
Ne de mon pere ne de moi;

*Cligès* is full of allusions to the fame of the court. From partly the same motive that prompts Rivalin to visit the court of Mark,[4] Alexander is inspired to seek the court of Arthur:

68 Oï ot feire manssion
Del roi Artu qui lors regnoit
Et des barons qui il tenoit
An sa compaignie toz jorz,
Par quoi iert dotee sa corz
Et renomee par le monde.

Wace, it may be recalled, says that Arthur's greatness was universally feared (10020 ff.).

Alexander will never wear casque upon his head until he is dubbed knight by Arthur:

113 S'irai presanter mon servise
Au roi qui Bretaingne justise,
Por ce que chevalier me face.
Ja n'avrai armee la face
Ne hiaume el chief, jel vos plevis,
A nul jor que je soie vis,
Tant que li rois Artus me çaingne
L'espee, se feire le daingne;

He would see those renowned nobles of a foreign land (150 ff.). When he and his companions are conducted to Arthur they appear:

310 Devant le meillor roi del mont.

Alexander addresses the king thus:

342 "Rois," fet il, "se de vos ne mant
Renomee qui vos renome,
Des que Deus fist le premier home,
Ne nasqui de vostre poissance
Rois qui an Deu eüst creance.
Rois, li renons qui de vos cort

[4] Thomas, *Tristan*, ed., Bédier, I, p. 4.

M'a amené a vostre cort
Por vos servir et enorer,

Later, Alexander, instructing his son, Cligès, tells him:

2603 "Biaus fiz Cligès, ja ne savras
Conoistre, conbien tu avras
De proesce ne de vertu,
Ne te vas esprover einçois
Et as Bretons et as François.

And Cligès, who has well learned his lesson, says to his uncle, Alis:

4251 "An Bretaingne, se je sui preuz,
Me porrai tochier a la queuz
Et a l'essai fin et verai,
Ou ma proesce esproverai.
An Bretaingne sont li prodome
Que enors et proesce renome.
Et qui viaut enor guehaignier,
A çaus se doit aconpaignier;
Qu'enor i a et si guehaingne,
Qui a prodome s'anconpaingne." [5]

Zimmer [6] is of the opinion that the Arthurian court is modeled on the court of Charlemagne and the twelve peers. He says: "Eine Umgestaltung der Arthursage unter Einfluss der Charlemagnesage ist Arthurs Tafelrunde nach dem Muster von Charlemagne und seinen 12 Pairs. Dass aber diese Umgestaltung nicht von Chrestiens, dem ältesten bekannten französischen Bearbeiter der bretonischen Arthurstoffe, in die Sage gebracht wurde, dafür ist Wace in seiner Uebersetzung von Gottfrieds Historia regum Britanniae mit dem bekannten vers, Fist Artus la roonde table dont Breton dient mainte fable, (*B* 9996) ein vollgültiges Zeugnis da der Brut von Wace doch älter ist als irgend eines der Arthurepen Chrestiens. Mit dieser Umgestaltung Arthurs nach Charlemagne scheint mir eine weitere in engem Zusammenhang zu stehen.... Ist nun Arthurs Tafelrunde eine Nachahmung des Charlemagne und seiner Pairs, dann durfte unter den Helden der Tafelrunde auch die Figur des türkischen Ganelon nicht fehlen; nach ihr ist Kei der breton. Arthursage umgebildet." (*See* p. 93).

It is quite possible that the idea of the Arthurian court was

[5] The *Charrete* contains no distinct reference to the renown of Arthur's court.

[6] *GGA*, 1890, 830.

borrowed from the court of Charlemagne by Geoffrey, and then transmitted by him to Wace who added to it the institution of the Round Table, a feature popular in origin, but made an organization of the court after the manner of the institution of the Twelve Peers in the Court of Charlemagne. Such an influence from the Charlemagne saga seems reasonable when we note that there is another trace of this source in the chronicles: the actual mention of the Twelve Peers. They engage in battle with the Trojans,[7] and later, are numbered among Arthur's vassals at the coronation.[8] Finally, they serve under Arthur in the war with Rome.[9] Twice, we see, they are connected with Arthur. If this influence is admitted it seems more likely to have reached Arthurian story in the chronicle stage than after the material had developed into the form of romance. The spirit of chivalry in the twelfth century, particularly in the romances of the Round Table, had become what Gautier calls "moins sauvage, mais moins virile,"[10] and the romances would naturally be more attracted to the luxuriousness of the Arthurian court as portrayed by Geoffrey and Wace, than to the austere and military court of Charlemagne.

It appears highly probable that Crestien as the first Arthurian romancer got his idea of the Arthurian court from the *Brut* of Wace. His use of Wace's court scene for his *Erec* may have made an impression on him which bore fruit in all but one of his subsequent romances.

Wace's famous account of the Round Table, one of his few extended additions to the facts of Geoffrey's narrative, and apparently the earliest record of this institution runs thus:

9994 Pur les nobles baruns qu'il ot
Dunt chascuns mieldre estre cuidot;
Chascuns s'en teneit al meillur,
Ne nus n'en saveit le peiur,
Fist Artus la Roünde Table
Dunt Bretun diënt mainte fable:
Iluec seeient li vassal
Tut chevelment e tut ingal;

[7] *HRB* I, xiii; *B* 623.
[8] *HRB* IX, xii; *B* 10586.
[9] *HRB* IX, xix; *B* 11424.
[10] *La Chevalrie,* Paris, 1884, 32.

A la table ingalment seeient
E ingalment servi esteient.
Nus d'els ne se poeït vanter
Qu'il seïst plus halt de sun per;
Tuit esteient assis meiain,
Ne n'i aveit nul de forain.
N'esteit pas tenuz pur curteis
Escoz ne Bretuns ne Franceis,
Normant, Angevin ne Flamenc
Ne Burguignun ne Loherenc,
De qui que il tenist sun fiu
Des occidant dusqu'a Munt Giu,
Qui à la curt le rei n'alast,
E qui od lui n'i surjurnast,
E qui n'aveient vesteüre
E cuntenance e armeüre
A la guise que cil esteient
Qui en la curt Artur serveient
De pluisurs terres i veneient
Cil qui pris a honur querreient.
Tant pur oïr ses curteisies,
Tant pur veeïr ses mananties,
Tant pur conoistre ses baruns,
Tant pur aveir ses riches duns.

The most significent lines for our purpose are: *Fist Artus la Roünde Table Dunt Bretun diënt mainte fable. Bretun* is generally taken to mean Armorican Britons because the Round Table as conceived by Wace and the French romancers was not known to the legends of the Brythonic Celts.[11] The Round Table may have originated in an aetiological myth [12] common to Pan-Celtic society, and yet have taken the form it possesses in the *Brut* only among the Armorican Britons. It is scarcely possible that Wace developed the Table out of the mythological conception; he found it on Armorican soil, perhaps as an actual table,[13] either distinct from or already associated with Arthur in the *mainte fable.*

[11] Zimmer, *GGA*, 1890, 518, 795; A. C. L. Brown, *HSN* VII (1900) 183 ff.; *See*, however, Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, 507, n. 2, who objects to Z.'s theory.

[12] Mott, *PMLA* XIII (1898) 259.

[13] *See* Schultz, *op. cit.*, I, 422.

Wace's other references point only to the meaning, "a brotherhood of knights" and not that of an actual table:

10553 De cels qui en la curt esteient
E qui le cors au rei serveient,
Qui sunt de la roünde table
Ne quis je mie faire fable.

These lines describe the persons who served Arthur at the coronation banquet. The following lines recount the end of the battle of Camlan, which resulted in the dissolution of Arthurian society:

13672 La peri la bele juvente
Que reis Artus aveit nurrie
E de pluisurs teres coillie;
E cil de la Table Roünde
Dunt tels los fu par tut le munde.

Hence, Wace's idea of the Round Table seems to be that of an actual table—the primitive meaning, together with the later and more common signification, that of a chivalric order. There is no evidence of Mott's third meaning: the celebration of a courtly festival on a fete-day.[14]

Crestien's allusions to the Round Table are few and brief:

*E* 83 De la Table Reonde estoit,
Mout grant los an la cort avoit.

*E* 1682 De chevaliers i avoit tant,
Quant eles an la sale antrerent,
Qui ancontre eles se leverent,
Que je n'an sai nomer de disme,
Le trezisme ne le quinzisme;
Mes d'auquanz des mellors barons
Vos sai je bien dire les nons,
De çaus de la Table Reonde,
Qui furent li mellor del monde.

*P* 8088 E estes vos, dites le moi,
De ces de la Table Reonde
Des meillors chevaliers del monde?

These passages show that Crestien's idea of the Round Table was nothing more than an order of chivalry. In other words, it has in his hands become thoroughly rationalized. Thus his conception differs from that of Wace who saw in the Table not only a broth-

[14] *Op. cit.*, 231; Schultz, *op. cit.*, II, 117.

erhood of knights, but originally, an actual board around which Arthur's retinue might sit as equals. This fact, taken together with Wace's assertion that the Table was famous in Breton legend, would suggest that Crestien did not obtain his knowledge of this institution through the Norman poet alone.

The Castle of Maidens and the Dolorous Mount are mentioned in the *HRB* in connection with the founding of York: Condidit etiam Ebraucus.....oppidum montis Agned: quod nunc Castellum Puellarum dicitur et montem Dolorosum (II, vii). Anscombe thinks that the appellation "Mt. Agned" is the result of a desperate piece of etymology which sees ἀγών "a struggle, contest, battle," and ἀγωνια, "anguish (of mind)" in the name, "Agned." *Castellum Puellarum,* he says, is an erroneous translation of *Castell Vrewynion,* misread *Castell Vorwynion,* and it shows that the MS Geoffrey used confused *Agned* with *Breguoinion.*[15]

Wace's rendering of Geoffrey's account runs thus:

1564 E en un munt le chastel fist
Qui des Pucèles a surnum;
Mais jo n'en sai pur quel raisun
Li chastels ot num de Pucèles
Plus que de dames, ne d'ancèles.
Ne me fu dit, ne jo nel di;
Ne jo n'ai mie tut oï,
Ne jo n'ai mie tut veü
Ne demandé, ne retenu:
Mult estovreit à hume entendre
Qui de tut voldreit raisun rendre.

Wace gets around this desperate piece of etymology in spite of his fondness for such exercises, by omitting the *montis Agned* and the *montem Dolorosum* altogether. As it is, the *castellum puellarum* appears to have troubled him sorely enough, and he seems to have wisely decided to keep out of further etymological difficulties.

Crestien's nearest approach to the phrase, *Chastels de Pucèles* is *Isle as Puceles,* which may be identical with the former expres-

[15] *Local names in the Arthuriana,* in *ZCP* V, 114. He identifies *Agned* with *Aconbury,* by corruption, *Acornbury,* a hill in Herefordshire. Comp. p. 74, of this study.

sion,[16] and which he uses, not in a rational sense, but only in connection with fairy motifs. He uses it in *Yvain*. The hero comes to a castle where he sees in an enclosed garden or meadow (5191 ff.) 300 damsels in wretched condition. Addressing them he learns that long before his arrival the king of the *Isle as Puceles* (5256 ff.) had fought with two monsters of this castle and had been defeated. In consequence, he had to pay a yearly tribute of thirty maidens until someone shall come who can slay the monsters and free the damsels from captivity.

A story somewhat similar to this is assigned to Gawain in the *Perceval*. Gawain, following the false knight who had stolen his horse, comes to a castle situated on a rock (7200). After defeating his oppressor in combat he is entertained by a boatman (7423) who dwells below the castle. Here the guest learns that the place is under the spell of enchantment (7568). Within, dwell two queens, a mother and a daughter (7492 ff.) whose husbands are dead, and who have been unjustly deprived of their inheritance. Many orphan damsels live with these queens, waiting for some one to lift the spell and marry them off honorably (7543). This place with its story looks very much like an Isle or a Castle of Maidens.[17] It has the usual traits: high situation and oppressed damsels waiting for rescue.

The Dolorous Mount, a name which Geoffrey seems to use synonomously with the Castle of Maidens, and which Wace omits entirely, is used by Crestien but once, namely: in speaking of the

[16] *Comp.* the *Isle de Voirre* which has been identified with Glastonbury, *Rom.* X, 491; XX, 149; *ZfS* XII (1890) 246 and in the *Chevalier du Papegaut*, ed., Heuckencamp, 57, the *Ile Fort* also called the *Roche sans Paour*, where there is no indication that either place is an actual island. The *Isle as Puceles* is now generally regarded as Edinborough; thus in topography it would well correspond with the examples just cited. *See Yvain*, 3rd ed. 217; *HL* XXX, 202; Bruce, *op. cit.*, LVIII, n. 3.

[17] Miss Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903, 88, is also of this opinion. The adventure seems to show traces of a fairy-mistress episode. To continue the story, Gawain essays the adventure of the castle, that of the Magic Bed, is hailed by the captives with thanksgiving over his success, is held in great honor by the queen who with much reluctance lets him go from her to engage in a combat; after several experiences he returns to her and is joyfully received. (7569 ff.) The Castle of Maidens is thus connected with a fairy-mistress motif here just as in *Yvain*. This would accord with Miss Weston's view, *Perceval*, I, 190. The Castle Marvelous seems to be within the confines of Galloway (*P* 8349, 8612) which place has the character of an other-world region. *See* Miss Weston, *op. cit.*, 186, and this study, p. 126. The non-Crestien portions of the Grail story all mention the Castle of Maidens and always with a supernatural coloring. *See* Potvin ed., *Elucidation*, 401; Gautier cont. (Nutt's summary, 17); Manessier, 20; Gerbert, 23.

knights of the Round Table in *Erec, Yders del Mont Dolereus*[18] (1724). The name is simply mentioned in a long list of knights, and no clue is given as to the nature of either the person or the place.

There is in the *Perceval* a *Mont Perilleus* (4686) which may possibly be identified with the Dolorous Mount. A hideous hag, entering the court says that whoever would win great renown should go *Au pui qui est soz Montesclere* (4668) where a damsel is seated: He who can raise the siege and deliver the damsel (evidence of oppression again as in the Castle of Maidens) shall have great praise and be able to wear in safety the *espée as estranges ranges.* Several knights make ready for the adventure, saying they will go *Devant le Chastel Orguilleus e sor le Mont Perilleus* (4685). This looks as though the *pui qui soz Montesclere* and the *Mont Perilleus* were one and the same.[19]

It is evident that Crestien has employed the Castle of Maidens and the Dolorous Mount in an entirely different way from that in which they are used in the *Historia,* a fact which leads to the conclusion that Crestien did not borrow these features from a chronicle source. It is more probable that Geoffrey[20] and Crestien go back to common, popular origins, and for the following reasons:

1. One of Geoffrey's chief sources is popular history whether oral or written. (*See* Fletcher, *op. cit.,* 75).
2. The Castle or Isle of Maidens is an element in Celtic otherworld scenery. In the story of *Echaid Airan,*[21] Mider took Etaín to a fairy habitation called Sith Afernan and the Mound of Fair Women. In the *Imram Mailduin,* the hero

[18] He is not to be confused with Yder, son of Nut.

[19] The problem of identifying the Mount Perilous or Dolorous becomes still further complicated if we turn to the non-Crestien portions of the *Perceval.* The *Elucidation,* in connection with the Castle of Maidens, speaks of a *Pont Perellous* and a *Castle Orguellous* (Potvin, 409); Gautier (Nutt, 18) mentions the Mount Dolorous as a place where Arthur's knights sought for Perceval; Gerbert (Nutt, 23) mentions the Castle Dolorous where two knights lost their wits. The *Mabinogi* of Peredur ab Ewrac (*Mab.* II, 84) has Peredur fight the black serpent of the carn on Mount Dolorous. In the tail of the serpent is a stone. Whoever can hold the stone in one hand can have in the other as much gold as he desires. Doubtless these places are all related; just how the relation came about is not easy to determine, nor is the question pertinent. It is sufficient to know that they are elements of fairy machinery.

[20] Wace, as is evident from the nature of his comment has merely translated Goeffrey and does not understand the nature of the material.

[21] Windisch, *Irische Texte,* Leipzig, 1880, 117; Rhŷs, *Studies in Arthurian Legend,* 126.

visits the Island of the Chaste Maiden, and the Isle of Maidens.

3. In this case Geoffrey is associating names, doubtless taken from a popular source, with an actual place. In writing *Castellum Puellarum* and its synonym, *Montem Dolorosum* he may merely have been given popular names for Edinborough. (*See* p. 141).
4. Wace on meeting with these terms tries to rationalize one of them still further by giving it a literal explanation, and failing, omits the other entirely.

The Castle of Maidens, then was an element of popular tradition the fairy nature of which seems to have been more fully understood by Crestien than by the chroniclers.

It now seems probable that Crestien has constructed his romantic background chiefly out of popular material. It is not at all likely that his Castle of Maidens and Dolorous Mount came from the chronicles. Wace's account of the Round Table he doubtless knew, but it was probably not his only source of information on this subject. The Arthurian Court is the only feature traceable with any certainty to a non-popular source, and this in Crestien's hands seems more likely to have owed its origin to Wace's Brut than to the Charlemagne saga.

### *Social and Moral Ideas*

Several ideas of a moral and social nature voiced by Wace find a parallel in Crestien's romances. The first is the value of books as preservatives of the deeds of the ancients, and the onward progress of civilization from Greece, to Rome, to Western Europe. This sentiment, found in the introduction to the *Rou,* is repeated in the opening lines of *Cligès.* The similarity lies more in the general attitude of mind than in special details—an attitude that must have been conventional; hence the possibility of obligation on Crestien's part is slight in the extreme.[22]

Another parallel is to be found in a warning against the evils of sloth, a speech put into the mouth of Cador, Duke of Cornwall in the chronicles (*HRB* IX, xv; *B* 11013 ff.) The tenor is that a life of luxury, of interest in women and amusements unfits a knight

[22] Paris, *JdS,* 1902, 345, n. 2, is of the same opinion. He calls it a scholastic commonplace.

for the performance of his chivalric duties. Hence, war may be welcomed as of timely advent. The hero's indulgence in this form of sloth is the primary motif of the *Erec*. It is *Verliegenheit*, or what Tennyson [23] has well termed "Uxoriousness," that causes Erec to forgo all manly exercises and devote himself entirely to Enide. When aroused to the consciousness of this sin, he redeems himself only through a long series of self-imposed experiences whereby his valor is put to the proof and is not found wanting (2443 ff.).[24]

Against falling into error of this kind, Gawain warns Yvain in an effort to induce him to leave Laudine and return to his former place in Arthur's court (*Y* 2484 ff.).

Çador's speech might obviously have furnished Crestien with the general idea which he developed by means of specific illustrations, yet here again the point of view is not unique. Sloth as one of the seven deadly sins met with universal condemnation in the Middle Ages. That two writers of the twelfth century should independently be inveighing against sloth is not only natural,[25] but inevitable. That they should both have chosen this particular form of sloth to inveigh against, is also natural and inevitable. Both Wace and Crestien wrote for courtly circles; they are here doubtless reflecting directly the sentiments of those circles. It is of course possible that Crestien was influenced by this discourse of Cador's, but not at all probable, even though it may have been known to him.

A discussion of Crestien's relation to Wace in respect to social ideas would be incomplete without a word upon the most influential social institution of that day; namely, chivalry. The chivalric spirit of the *Brut* seen in the treatment of character, scene, and incident, has been constantly pointed out, yet it seems well to bring together these scattered references in order to emphasize the importance of Wace's chronicle in the transmission of chivalric

[23] Cambridge ed. of his poetical works, p. 333, v. 60.

[24] *Cp.* Paris, *Rom.* XX (1891) 163 ff.; Mlle. Borodine, *La Femme et l'Amour au XII Siècle d'après les poems, de Chrètien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909, reviewed by M. Roques in *Rom.* XXXIX (1910) 378 ff. Roques thinks the *Joie de la cort* episode in Erec is designed to show the dangers of sloth, and particularly to show the contrast between romantic or selfish love, insensible to the activities of the world, and the higher love of Erec and Enide which is ennobled by contact with the actual world (380). This seems to me a good suggestion.

[25] Schultz, *op. cit.*, II, 1.

ideas to the romancers. The descriptions of Arthur's court with its exclusive institution, the Round Table; the attitude towards women,—the part they play as incentives to combat where every knight had to prove himself before his lady in three different battles (*Pur la noblesce de s'amie Fait juvenes hum chevalerie,* says Gawain, *B* 11050); the sympathetic portrayal of the sinning Guinevere, in contrast to Geoffrey's stern condemnation; the emphasis upon noble lineage, upon courtesy, prowess, moderation, and other chivalric virtues; the picture of the brilliant young Gawain newly returned from his education at the hands of Pope Sulpicius where he acquired skill in arms, prowess, moderation, and learned to avoid pride and error, and to do more than he promised,—a portrait of an ideal *damisel* which might be put beside Chaucer's *Yong Squier;* the picture of Arthur as the consummation of a Christian king and warrior; of Kay and Bedver, glorious in deeds of arms; of Uther, vanquished and subdued by love like Alexander, Cligès, Yvain, or any other romantic hero; the admonition against sloth, a sin particularly antagonistic to the principles of chivalry,—all these details give to the *Brut* a chivalric coloring not to be disregarded in considering Wace's relation to the romancers. Moreover, Wace's chivalry is essentially the chivalry of refinement and elegance, in contrast to the austerity of that institution as portrayed in the epic of the preceding century, and is in no way different from the chivalry of the Arthurian romances.

## *Conclusions*

It now remains to formulate the conclusions. We have considered the possibilities of influence on episodes, characters, geography, romantic background, and moral and social ideas in Crestien's five Arthurian romances.

I. Episodes

a. Episodes that appear to have been suggested wholly by the *Brut*:[26]

The rebellion of Angrès—*Cligès*
Arthur's proposed attack on Constantinople—*Cligès*
King Rion of the Isles—*Perceval*

[26] That is, they do not show traces of other sources. Whatever difference exists appears to be due to Crestien's invention.

b. Episodes that may have been suggested in part by Wace:
The marriage and coronation of Erec and Enide—*Erec*
Alexander's exploit under the walls of Windsor—*Cligès*
The four days' tournament—*Cligès*
Hostility between Arthur's kingdom and the land of Gorre —*Lancelot*
Guinevere's unfaithfulness—*Lancelot*
The fountain of Broceliande—*Yvain*
Yvain's combat with Harpin de la Montaingne—*Yvain*

II. Characters.

a. Persons in the *Brut* whose names are merely mentioned by Crestien:
Aguisel, King of Scotland
Bedver the Butler
King Cadovalanz
Lot, King of Norway and father of Gawain
Nut, father of Yder
Urien, father of Yvain
Uther Pendragon
Yder, son of Nut. (*See* pp. 102 ff.)
Ygerne

b. Persons borrowed in character but with change of name in whole or in part:
Baudemagus.....Bladus
Angrès.....Modred
Rion.....Riton

c. Persons borrowed in name and in character, whose character is presented consistently with the conception in the *Brut*:
Gawain
Yvain

d. Persons whose characters arè consistent only in part with Wace's conception:
The historical Arthur
The unfaithful Guinevere
The historical Kay

e. Persons that show no evidence of having come from Wace: Merlin.

Sixteen of Crestien's characters, therefore, show a more or less close resemblance to corresponding characters in the *Brut*. Six of

these are, in the works of both Crestien and his source, distinguished figures: Angrès, Arthur, Gawain, Guinevere, Kay, Yvain.

III. Geography.

a. The use of *Bretaigne*:
   1. To mean Great Britain and Armorica
   2. To mean England exclusive of Scotland, Wales and Cornwall

b. The general geography of certain romances:
   1. *Cligès* shows a decidedly historical geography through the laying of the scene successively at Southampton, Winchester, Dover,[27] Canterbury,[27] the Thames, London, Wallingford, Oxford.
   2. *Lancelot.* The scene lies in *Bretaingne et Cornoailles* and in and around Bath.

c. Geographical names that point back to historical events or situations described in the *Brut.*
   1. Reminiscent of Arthur's conquests in the Island or on the continent, and used by Crestien to denote royal residences or territory over which Arthur has the sovereignty:

| | |
|---|---|
| Anjou | Ireland |
| Brittany | Normandy |
| Carlion | The Orkneys |
| Chester | Poitou |
| Galloway | Scotland |
| Gloucester | Wales |

York

   2. Reminiscent of the amour of Uther and Ygerne: Tintagel
   3. Reminiscent of the primitive history of the Island: Logres

IV. Romantic background.

The influence of Wace seems to be traceable in Crestien's conception and presentation of the Arthurian Court. Wace may not be regarded as exclusively responsible for Crestien's use of the Round Table. Crestien did not borrow from Wace the Castle of Maidens and the Dolorous Mount. In fact, the latter occurs only in the *HRB.*

[27] Merely mentioned.

V. The Moral and Social ideas:

a. The two moralistic ideas: books as the preservatives of ancient civilization, and the dangers of sloth are not likely to have come from Wace. They more probably represent a conventional attitude.

b. Wace's conception of chivalry is likely to have had direct and important influence.

When one takes into consideration the bulk of Crestien's work and the motifs, situations, events, and characters therein contained which are totally unconnected with Wace's chronicles one is likely to feel that Crestien's obligation is not large, and rests, as Gaston Paris thought, only on a few details.[28] But these details when brought together, form a considerable body of material, and in some cases play an important rôle. The marriage and coronation ceremonies of the *Erec* are the two most important spectacular events in the romance, occupying together 800 lines or about one eighth of the whole narrative. The story of Angrès's treachery is one of the two lines of action in the first half of *Cligès*. The hostility between Arthur's kingdom and Gorre constitutes the enveloping action of the *Charrete*. Traits of six of Crestien's leading characters probably owe their being to Wace: The Arthur of the *Cligès*, the Guinevere of the *Charrete*, Gawain, Yvain, Angrès, Kay. The geography of *Cligès* and *Lancelot* seems to have been suggested by the *Brut*. Crestien's conception of the Arthurian Court, the institution that dominates all of his romances is probably colored by Wace's descriptions. Not only do these prominent features show the effect of Wace, presumably, but a number of minor details are as we have seen, probably traceable, at least in part, to Wace's chronicles.

A consideration that adds to the difficulty in determining the degree of Crestien's indebtedness is that his use of models does not appear to be slavish. To judge by what is known of his method,[29] his tendency seems to be to take an idea from Wace as a suggestion, a point of departure, and develop it either independently, or by relating it to material found elsewhere. This method he appears to have followed in the *Erec* marriage and coronation ceremonies, in

[28] Paris in expressing this view, did not have Crestien especially in mind; he meant Arthurian metrical romances in general. *See* p. 1, & n. 1.

[29] *See Nitze, MP* VII (1909) 145 f.; IX, 4, n. 1.

the Broceliande fountain episode in *Yvain,* and in the *Cligès* incidents, traceable to the *Brut.* The converse of this method he may have followed in his handling of the *Charrete* situation, and in the character of Arthur, for example. Here he has apparently received his suggestion from some other source and has used Wace for purposes of modification.

The fact that Crestien seems to have followed Thomas for his *Cligès* more closely than he has imitated Wace at any time does not oppose the above theory. In this case the imitation appears to have been done with deliberate purpose. Crestien is here presenting the converse of the situation in the *Tristan,* is writing what Foerster calls an Anti-Tristan, and his end could be much more effectively gained by following his original in framework and in detail than if he had adopted a different structure. Even the *Marques de Rome* story on which the second part of the romance is based [30] has not been followed to the letter. Apparently Crestien not only adds many important details but his point of view is quite different from that of his original.[31]

Incidently this study has emphasized the following points of interest:

1. Crestien seems to have used his sources chiefly for purposes of suggestion rather than of servile imitation.

2. He is for the most part indifferent to geographical accuracy, his interest lying mainly in the conduct of his characters.

3. On the whole, Crestien is nearer Wace in his earlier tales, *Erec* and *Cligès* than he is in his later narratives. This fact may throw some light on the development of Arthurian romance. The chronicle certainly gave it a start. Then it attracted popular and other features and became more and more complex, until it reached the height of complexity in the prose romances.

4. The Arthurian Court as a focus for adventure, the romantic Arthur, and the romantic Kay may have originated with Crestien.

5. Critical opinion, when it has recognized the value of Geoffrey as the literary transmitter of Arthurian legend, has neglected the importance of Wace in this function. Wace, by employing the octosyllabic couplet which became the romantic verse form of the period; by the exhibition of narrative skill in the use of suspense

[30] *See C,* 3rd ed. XXXIX.
[31] *See C,* 3rd ed. XXXIII.

and by vivifying his story with abundant specific detail, dialogue, and direct address; and by the markedly chivalric treatment of character and situation, is highly significant as an artistic medium for the transmission of chronicle Arthurian material from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the literature of northern France.[32]

[32] A study of Wace's influence on Crestien from the point of view of material alone, touches only one side of the question; style also should be considered. In such features as the *tirade lyrique* (*See MP* IV [1906] 627) and direct parallelism (*MP* III [1905] 517) Warren shows that Wace had no small influence on the poets of his day, among whom Crestien was naturally prominent. These investigations suggest fruitful possibilities. There are also such matters as rime, diction, figures of speech, the practice of using proverbs, and of specific detail in description and narrative that deserve examination. This subject of style would involve a study not only of the writings of Wace and Crestien, but also to some extent of French poetry before and contemporary with the *Brut* and the *Rou* in order to determine how far certain elements of style common to Wace and Crestien are peculiar to or used excessively by Wace, or are commonplaces of the day. Such an investigation would obviously better be handled in a separate volume.

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